FORMING A JAPANESE AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN INDIANA, 1941-1990

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INTRODUCTION

Over the course of two decades working in the field of Indiana history – as an eager reader and, on occasion, a facilitator of research – I had seen many excellent studies of Native Americans, African Americans, and even Hispanic Americans in the Hoosier State. There were, however, very few articles or papers about the state's Asian American population, apart from those in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience* and *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, notably Justin Libby's essays on Japanese Americans in each of those volumes.[1]

So I began the research for this thesis with the following questions: How and why did Japanese Americans come to Indiana during and after World War II? At what point in time can we say that the Hoosier Japanese American community formed and why should we select that point? What institutions first came into being and why were they needed? Who started them and for what purpose? Was there a sense of community before that time? What was the overall environment and what were the prevailing conditions in Indiana, external and internal to the ethnic group?

I will argue that the Japanese American population in Indiana began to increase as a result of World War II and that it reached a point of viability as an ethnic community in the mid-1970s. At that juncture Japanese American leaders founded a number of organizations designed to serve the needs of distinct segments of the population. The state government's campaign for Japanese investment during the 1980s drew another group of Japanese into the state, and they, along with non-Japanese

Hoosier leaders, founded organizations with a different agenda, around the goal of understanding and improving relations with Japan and the Japanese in Indiana.

Diaspora Studies

As a grants officer for the Indiana Heritage Research Grant program—a funding mechanism co-sponsored by the Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana Humanities Council which supported a great deal of state and local history research and archiving from 1985 to 2001—I knew that a common weakness of many local histories is the lack of a national context. It is very easy to write about the history of such-and-such a town, or that town's founders, or its notable and notorious events, without considering how those bits and pieces of history fit into the national or regional picture. Thus, it was surprising to discover that the history of Japanese Americans in Indiana is all about the saga of the United States as a country and how events and trends that are national in scope have affected the region and its population. Far from having to search for the national context, I found it to be unavoidable.

Indeed, the story is ultimately international, and this factor led me to the new and thriving field of diaspora studies which began its rise in the 1980s and 1990s. In an article published in *History and Anthropology* in 1996, Brian Keith Axel identifies three "moments" in the development of this new field of research:

- broadening the general idea of diaspora to encompass more than the Jewish and African diasporas (major additions included the South Asian, Arab, Chinese, Japanese, Greek, and Mexican diasporas);
- making diaspora a nexus of knowledge production sponsored by academia, governmental agencies, and cultural organizations; and

- separating the work between cultural (or ethnic) studies, which focuses on the place of the diasporan group in its new environment, and area studies, which focuses on the diasporan group as an overseas extension of the originating culture.

In fact, scholars in a wide range of disciplines—including anthropology; sociology; history; ethnic, Chicano, and women's studies; area studies; American studies; English; critical theory; and criticism and interpretive theory—have written on diaspora in recent years. Moreover, diaspora thought interfaces with many ongoing academic discourses—from transnationalism, identity and culture, and migration to postcolonialism and modernity—yet it offers a unique and alternative perspective on world history. [2]

The word "diaspora" is derived from the Greek verb *speiro* (to sow) and the preposition *dia* (over or through). The metaphor implies a scattering of people, leading most diaspora theorists to insist that, in order to qualify as a diaspora, a migration must have multiple destinations. The original Greek concept of diaspora, according to the British scholar Robin Cohen, implied migration and colonization, as opposed to the forced dispersal that, following the Jewish diaspora, became the archetype.[3]

Diaspora studies have a direct bearing on the topic of this thesis because they have two essential characteristics, as explained by Avtar Brah in *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (1996). First, diasporas emerge out of migrations of collectivities; even if some individuals or families travel alone, a diaspora is still a group migration. Second, diasporas are places of long-term, if not permanent, community formations, persisting beyond the original immigrant generation. Diasporan communities remain suspended between an actual or imagined homeland and the

hostlands in which they have become established. Unlike assimilated groups that disappear into the hostland population, a diasporan community retains self-awareness of its identity through the link with its past migration history and with co-ethnic communities from the same diaspora.[4]

Kim D. Butler, an associate professor of Africana studies and history at Rutgers University, offers a useful summary of diaspora studies as a research approach. Writing in *Diaspora*, a journal founded in 1992 and published by the University of Toronto, Butler describes diaspora studies as a research agenda with five dimensions, which, if pursued, will lead scholars to issues unique to diasporas and thus to new insights:

- reasons for, and conditions of, the dispersal
- relationship with the homeland
- relationship with hostlands
- interrelationships within communities of the diaspora
- comparative studies of different diasporas[5]

Much of the work on diasporas has focused on the first of these dimensions. As Butler points out, it is the initial dispersal that determines both the type and the label or name of a diaspora (for example, "the African diaspora"). Accordingly, Robin Cohen identifies five types of diaspora, derived from the reasons for the dispersal, and selects one or two specific diasporas to illustrate each type:

- Victim diasporas – Africans and Armenians (in addition to the Jewish people)
- Labor diasporas – Asian Indians
- Imperial diasporas – British
- Trade diasporas – Chinese and Lebanese
- Cultural diasporas – Caribbean[6]

Plan of the Thesis

The first question posed by diaspora studies is also the first question I asked with respect to Japanese and Japanese Americans in Indiana: Why did they come? What were the reasons for, and circumstances of, the dispersal? A corollary question that is not necessarily part of the diaspora studies agenda is: Why did they come *here*? Even though a diaspora, by definition, has multiple destinations, a historian should still ask, why this set of destinations? What was the rationale for their selection?

Kim D. Butler, who, unlike many other writers about diaspora, is a historian, insists that diasporas as processes can occur in stages and often change over time. If we are to view the story of Japanese American communities in Indiana as part of the Japanese diaspora—that is, the dispersal of Japanese from Japan to other parts of the world, primarily the Western Hemisphere, beginning in the nineteenth century—then this historical principle must be taken into account. It is important because, of the four Japanese American groups that came to Indiana between 1941 and 1990, two came directly from Japan and two did not. The two migrations of Nisei (second generation Japanese, offspring of the immigrant generation) came from diasporan communities that had been established on the West Coast.[7]

Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg, in their anthology of diaspora essays, *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity*, have a term for these communities: the "third time-space." One way of thinking about the communities of the "third time-space," such as the West Coast communities that produced the Nisei generation, is as ethnic groups whose culture existed only at a particular point in time

and space which may now survive only in memory. One of the contributors to *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity*, Dorinne Kondo, finds such a world in Perry Miyake's *Doughball*, a play produced by the East/West Players in Los Angeles in 1991. Miyake evokes Japanese American identity through his use of artistic elements that reproduce the authentic feel of those communities that developed in the 1920s and 1930s: linguistic practices, the locality of Southern California, and sensory memory, including food.[8]

The first group to be discussed in this thesis came to the Midwest as a consequence of the victim type of dispersal, that being the evacuation of Japanese Americans from their West Coast homes in the wake of Pearl Harbor. Avtar Brah, whose work is influenced by the writings of Michel Foucault, believes that the concept of diaspora centers on the configurations of power and can have many causes: conquest, colonization, capture or removal, expulsion, persecution, political strife, war, and global flows of labor. While the Issei (first, or immigrant, generation of Japanese Americans) came to the United States as a labor diaspora, the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast, as a secondary dispersal or "stage" of diaspora, fits Brah's formula (expulsion, political strife, and war as causes). Very much to the point in this respect is Brian Keith Axel's argument that diasporas politicize space and cause nation-states to see displaced populations in their midst as threats.[9]

Perhaps the most difficult group to place in Cohen's typology of diasporas is the second group to be discussed in this thesis—Japanese war brides (or "occupation brides") who came to Indiana after marrying Americans stationed or working in Japan

during the 1950s. They were not expelled from Japan; they came to the United States voluntarily but not to serve the purposes of labor or trade. Here we can see the pertinence of a key insight in Brah's view of diaspora, namely, her insistence on "multi-axial locationality." Brah uses this term to express the notion that diasporas are not single but multiple, subdivided by gender, race, class, religion, language, and generation. Applying gender as a category of analysis might have led Robin Cohen to a different, or perhaps expanded, typology of diaspora. Diaspora theory does, however, contribute to our understanding of the war bride experience in another respect; it posits a particular "ethos" surrounding a diaspora, defined by Butler as "the shared memories and myths around which this unique type of imagined community is built." It is their shared experience that gives cohesion to the community developed by this subgroup of Japanese Americans.[10]

The third group discussed in this thesis is comprised of Japanese Americans who came to Indiana and the Midwest in search of professional employment, especially in scientific and technical fields. These workers continued the initial labor diaspora that first brought Japanese Americans to the United States but in a late twentieth-century context. The United States no longer needed to import workers for manufacturing jobs, as it did during the "second-wave" immigration of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. After World War II, Japanese Americans found themselves in a peculiar place in history. Dispersed from their West Coast homes by the internment experience, and taking advantage of the climate of educational opportunity that marked

the 1950s and 1960s, they were in a position to seek employment in the knowledge industries on a nationwide basis.

The fourth group to arrive in Indiana belonged to an extraordinary late twentieth-century trade and imperial diaspora from Japan. Robin Cohen, a sociologist, writes extensively about diasporas in the age of globalization. The rise of transnational corporations has created classes of sojourners, including managers and workers with transportable skills. "Global cities," preeminently Tokyo, New York, and London, now bear more significance in their international than in their national roles. The result is an environment that not only allows trade and imperial diasporas to flourish but also affects attitudes as representatives of international entities think globally not locally.[11]

As an ethnic history and a local history, this thesis focuses not only on dispersal but also on the second item in Kim D. Butler's research agenda: relationship with hostlands. Given that Japanese and Japanese Americans left their homelands for various reasons, what drew them here? Why did they come in increasing numbers during and after World War II, and why did they choose Indiana? We now turn to these questions, beginning with a brief look at the Japanese American population in the Hoosier State prior to the 1940s.

Prologue – Japanese Americans in Indiana Before 1941

In 1890 the Bureau of the Census counted 18 Japanese living in Indiana. It was the first time any Japanese had been included in the state's decennial census although 29 Chinese had been found residing in the state in 1880. (See Table 1.) The 1890 census provided for five categories of "Color": White, Negro, Chinese, Japanese, and

"Civilized Indians." As it did until very recently, the Census Bureau considered Chinese and Japanese to be separate races, not nationalities or ethnicities, a questionable practice but helpful to the historian.[12]

The Japanese in Indiana at this early date lived primarily in larger cities, such as Crawfordsville (2), Evansville (13), Fort Wayne (1), and Indianapolis (1). In contrast, the Chinese, numbering 92 in 1890, were spread out all over the state. The Chinese population in America had begun to build up following the Gold Rush of 1849, continuing to grow until the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. That law precipitated the beginning of Japanese immigration, with the period of greatest increase coming between 1890 and 1924, at which point the Immigration Act of 1924 effectively barred Asians from entering the country. Thus, the Indiana pattern followed national trends—with Chinese enjoying a head start over Japanese and with both populations increasing gradually and then decreasing between 1920 and 1940. (See Table 1.)[13]

The period of greatest Japanese immigration to the United States coincided with the "new" or second wave of immigration that brought southern and eastern Europeans to America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most of the Japanese settled on the West Coast, but a few came to the Midwest. Historian James H. Madison notes that the number of second-wave immigrants in Indiana was much smaller than in all other states of the Old Northwest—a pattern that, for the most part, held true for Japanese immigrants as well.[14]

Table 1
Indiana Japanese and Chinese Population, by Race and Sex, 1880-1940

YEAR	Japanese Total	Japanese Male	Japanese Female	Chinese Total	Chinese Male	Chinese Female
1880	0	0	0	29	29	0
1890	18	4	14	92	92	0
1900	5	4	1	207	205	2
1910	38	36	2	276	268	8
1920	81	66	15	283	276	7
1930	71	53	18	279	247	32
1940	29	21	8	208	169	39

SOURCE: U.S. Census Office, Table 12, "Chinese, Japanese, and Civilized Indian Population, by States and Territories: 1860 to 1890," *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890*, Part I, Population (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1892), 474; *1980 Census of Population*, Vol. 1 Characteristics of the Population Chapter B General Population Characteristics. Part 16: Indiana (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), 16-26.

Census data show that in 1920, when there were 81 Japanese counted in Indiana, there were 472 in Illinois, 184 in Michigan, 130 in Ohio, and 60 in Wisconsin. Clifton Phillips, in *Indiana in Transition*, and Barnhart and Carmony also allude to the low number of second-wave immigrants in their discussions of Indiana during the period of industrialization around the turn of the twentieth century. Neither of these standard works, however, attempts to explain the reasons for this pattern.[15]

A quick comparison of the major metropolitan areas in the region shows that Indianapolis was clearly lagging behind other large cities in total population and in the scale of industrial employment at this time, suggesting that its job opportunities were less plentiful than theirs. (See Table 2.) Robert L. LaFollette comes to the same conclusion in his 1929 article for the *Indiana Magazine of History*. Rejoicing that Indiana has all but missed "the pollution of the stream of political and social

intelligence" by the influx of Roman Catholic southern and eastern Europeans into the region, he attributes this happy escape to Indiana's comparative lack of economic opportunity and heavy industry, its early land settlement by old stock Europeans, and its lack of a hinterland that would feed a central metropolis.[16]

Table 2
Population and Wage Earners, 1900

County	Total Population	Average Number of Wage Earners in Manufacturing
Cook, Illinois (Chicago)	1,838,735	269,748
Cuyahoga, Ohio (Cleveland)	439,120	63,867
Hamilton, Ohio (Cincinnati)	409,479	68,114
Wayne, Michigan (Detroit)	348,793	52,231
Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Milwaukee)	330,017	53,530
Marion, Indiana (Indianapolis)	197,227	25,873

SOURCE: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, "Study 00003: Historical Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: U.S., 1790-1970," March 24, 1998, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/> (24 April 2002).

Prior to World War II, then, Japanese Americans in Indiana were few in number and went virtually unnoticed in a state that had Native American communities, rural and urban African American communities, and Latino and European ethnic communities in many cities and towns. By the end of the twentieth century, Indiana would also have its Japanese American communities, but only as a consequence of certain historical events and trends, as I will show in the following chapters.

[1] Justin Libby, "Japanese," in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, ed. Robert M. Taylor, Jr., and Connie A. McBirney (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 298-312; Justin Libby, "Japanese," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, ed. David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 839-40.

[2] Brian Keith Axel, "Time and Threat: Questioning the Production of the Diaspora as an Object of Study," *History and Anthropology* 9, no. 4 (1996): 415; Kim D. Butler, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse," *Diaspora* 10 (Fall 2001): 214.

[3] Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997), ix.

[4] Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London: Routledge, 1996), 193.

[5] Butler, "Defining Diaspora," 195.

[6] Butler, "Defining Diaspora," 197; Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, x.

[7] Butler, "Defining Diaspora," 193.

[8] Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg, "Introduction," in *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity*, ed. Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 13, 17; Dorinne Kondo, "The Narrative Production of 'Home,' Community, and Political Identity in Asian American Theater," in *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity*, 107.

[9] Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, 182; Axel, "Time and Threat," 420, 423.

[10] Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, 183, 208; Butler, "Defining Diaspora," 200.

[11] Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 158-60, 165-8.

[12] United States Bureau of the Census, Table 15, "Race by Sex, for the State, by Size of Place, 1960, and for the State, 1890 to 1950," *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 16: Indiana (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), 39. As historians are well aware, however, census data can be somewhat unreliable in matters of race. Census takers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often reported race based on their observations. It is likely that many of the Japanese in the state during the nineteenth century were college students. Erika Sebens of Earlham College has researched the early history of these students, including Aimaro Sato and Sutemi Chinda, who graduated from DePauw University (formerly Indiana Asbury University) in 1881 and went on to distinguished careers in the Japanese government and diplomatic corps. Other colleges and universities with Japanese students prior to World War I included Earlham College and Indiana University, Bloomington (unpublished paper obtained from the Japan-America Society of Indiana, in author's possession).

[13] U.S. Census Office, Table 17, "Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, of Places of 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1890," *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890*, Part I, Population (Washington.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1892), 546. Data on Chinese Americans is offered for comparative purposes. Two of the most widely read summaries of Japanese and Chinese American history are Roger Daniels' *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle:

University of Washington Press, 1988) and Ronald Takaki's *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989).

[14] James H. Madison, *The Indiana Way: A State History* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press/Indiana Historical Society, 1986; First Midland Book Edition, 1990), 173.

[15] United States Bureau of the Census, Table 35, "Mexican, Indian, Chinese, and Japanese Population, by Divisions and States: 1930 and 1920," *Reports on Population and Unemployment, Fifteenth Decennial Census: 1930*, Volume III, Part I, Alabama-Missouri (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932), 27; Clifton J. Phillips, *Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of an Industrial Commonwealth, 1880-1920* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1968), 365, 368-69; John D. Barnhart and Donald F. Carmony, *Indiana: From Frontier to Industrial Commonwealth* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1954), 298-300.

[16] Robert L. LaFollette, "Foreigners and Their Influence on Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History* 25 (Mar. 1929): 22-3. Phillips cites this article but does not refer to LaFollette's theories regarding the relatively low rate of second-wave foreign immigration into Indiana.

CHAPTER ONE

JAPANESE AMERICANS: UPROOTED

On the eve of World War II, Indiana had almost no Japanese population to speak of and certainly nothing that could be called a Japanese American community. The attack on Pearl Harbor brought this tiny and obscure segment of the state's population into sudden prominence. Leaping into action, the *Indianapolis Star* managed to find two Japanese Americans to interview: Professor Toyozo W. Nakarai, a teacher of Semitic languages and literature at Butler University, and Harry Sasaki, operator of a coffee and tea stand in the City Market. Both proclaimed their support for the United States government and, as the *Star* headline read, "Will Fight if Necessary, Say 2 Long Residents of Indianapolis."[1]

World War II would create a channel for three new streams of Japanese and Japanese Americans to flow into the state of Indiana, people who probably would not have become temporary or permanent Hoosiers otherwise. The first two streams came from the internment camps, where people of Japanese ancestry living in restricted zones along the West Coast were sent in the months following the outbreak of war. Their choice of Indiana was no accident; it was the outcome of a remarkably well-coordinated national effort to move Japanese Americans to places like the Hoosier State.

To explain how and why Japanese and Japanese Americans living in California, Oregon, and Washington were put into internment camps during World War II would be far beyond the scope of this study, which focuses instead on how they got out. The following, however, is a brief summary of the historical context. On February 13, 1942,

a group of U.S. Congressmen from these states sent a letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt urging the immediate evacuation of all persons of Japanese lineage, both aliens and American citizens, from the West Coast. The next day, Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt of the Western Defense Command submitted a similar recommendation in a memorandum to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, authorizing the military to establish restricted zones and to exclude any and all persons from these areas. By the end of the year the army had evacuated the entire population of Japanese and Japanese Americans from California, western Oregon, western Washington, and southern Arizona, taking them first to local assembly centers and then to ten internment camps in eastern California, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. These actions faced legal challenges but were upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in three cases decided in 1943 and 1944. Forty years later, in 1983, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians concluded that the evacuation and internment were not justified by military necessity but were rather prompted by race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership. Upon the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, the U.S. government issued a formal apology and a redress payment to all surviving internees.[2]

The vanguard of the group leaving the camps and heading east was the so-called "College Nisei." (The term "Nisei" means second-generation, American-born Japanese.) College and university administrators, led by the American Friends Service Committee and organized as the National Japanese American Student Relocation

Council, found new placements for students whose education was interrupted by the internment process. In many cases, council members also secured scholarships and convinced local authorities to accept the students.[3]

During the summer of 1942 the council and the War Relocation Authority (WRA), an agency created on March 18, 1942, by Executive Order 9102 to oversee the evacuation and relocation of Japanese Americans, recruited 143 colleges, universities, and junior colleges for the placement program. By September 30 a total of 250 students had been granted "educational leaves" to attend summer sessions and enroll in the fall term at these institutions.[4]

A special dispatch to the *Indianapolis Star* announced Indiana's participation in the program. The heading read "Earlham Accepts 12 Jap Evacuees" with Earlham College described as a "Quaker institution." Justin Libby has told the story of Earlham's Nisei in considerable detail in *Peopling Indiana*. He credits the college's president, William C. Dennis, with persuading the local community to allow the students' presence in Richmond, Indiana. The local newspaper, the *Richmond Palladium-Item and Sun-Telegram*, reported Dennis' announcement that Earlham was selecting the students "with the greatest care" and submitting their credentials to the proper local authority, Mayor John R. Britten. Despite some incidents, both in the town and on campus, the students' adjustment to life at Earlham was reasonably peaceful, and some of them stayed in Indiana after the war ended.[5]

A second stream of Japanese left the camps to seek jobs in the cities and towns of the Midwest, Rocky Mountain States, East, and South. Scholars and popular writers

often use the term "relocation" to refer to the removal of Japanese Americans from their homes in the West to the internment camps, but the WRA quickly came to see its work in a different light—as literally the "relocation" of these people from one part of the country to other regions. Sensitive to the "hostility, doubts and fears of the public at large" with respect to the evacuees, the agency tried to prepare host communities in advance of resettlement, a strategy it called "controlled relocation." The WRA had an official policy not only of relocation but also of dispersal, believing that small numbers of Japanese Americans could be resettled in new areas of the country with less opposition than large numbers.[6]

The policy of dispersal was, however, more than a wartime exigency. Government officials hoped that assimilation would provide a permanent solution to the "Japanese problem" by eliminating West Coast Japanese communities. Japanese Americans were therefore urged to take advantage of relocation opportunities in many different parts of the country; once resettled, they were asked not to associate with each other but rather to try to blend in with the local population.[7]

This philosophy was shared at the highest levels. President Roosevelt said in a November 1944 press conference, "A good deal of progress has been made in scattering them through the country, and that is going on every day . . . 75,000 families scattered around the United States is not going to upset anybody." The following month Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes wrote, in a memo to the WRA staff, "Before you is the task of carrying out the desire of the President to continue and intensify the

effort to relocate as many of these people as possible in areas other than the West Coast . . . ."[8]

Historian Richard Drinnon, the biographer of WRA director Dillon S. Myer, has pointed out the parallels between Japanese and Native Americans during this era. Both lived on "reservations" in the West, and many government officials who had been trained in the Bureau of Indian Affairs were appointed to WRA posts. The first WRA director, Milton Eisenhower, in fact asked John Collier, the charismatic Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to run the Poston (Arizona) camp. But the resettlement policy dictated an opposite fate for the newer group; as Drinnon wrote, ironically contrasting Japanese American resettlement with Native American removal:

> But in the 1940s there was no Great American Desert for a collective dump, and in any event this push had to be from the West eastward. Myer and his modern crew of removers thus had to reverse the historic pattern by scattering their unwanted charges back across the continent.[9]

How, then, was this plan to be implemented? The example of the Intermountain West was instructive, for there the WRA learned how not to do it. Racial prejudice and hysteria echoing the mood of the Pacific Coast had infected those states, and all of their governors refused to cooperate with the resettlement program, except for Governor Ralph Carr of Colorado. At a meeting in Salt Lake City on April 7, 1942, they raised every kind of protest from fear of mob violence to economic and fiscal concerns. These complaints were heard by Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen of the Western Defense Command, Tom C. Clark of the Wartime Civil Control Administration, and Milton S. Eisenhower, at that time the director of the WRA. The meeting drove home the point that if Japanese Americans were to be resettled away from the West Coast, they might

find better conditions farther inland, especially if the people of the states receiving them could be carefully prepared.[10]

To solve this dilemma the War Relocation Authority developed a classic public-private partnership, one comprised, at the local level, of WRA field offices and citizen committees. The mandate for dispersal meant that these mechanisms had to be set up in numerous cities throughout the country. The first midwestern relocation office opened in Chicago on January 4, 1943. Additional area offices soon opened in Cleveland, Kansas City, Salt Lake City, and Denver. Their mission was to handle contacts with potential employers of Japanese Americans, to monitor and try to improve public attitudes toward the resettlers, and to provide services to newly arrived evacuees from the camps. Indianapolis groups, including the Marion County Building Trades Council, fired off an immediate protest, delivered to Washington by Congressman Louis Ludlow. WRA deputy director E.M. Rowalt assured Ludlow that Indiana would not receive evacuees unless the sentiment of each community was first ascertained. Rowalt further attempted to soothe the objectors by noting that the candidates for resettlement were accustomed to working in agriculture and service occupations, not in high-paying war plants.[11]

In the next few months, new area offices were set up in New York City and Little Rock, Arkansas, and by the end of fiscal year 1943 about 35 "district" field offices had been established to perform the same functions in secondary cities. An article in the *Indianapolis Star* in May 1943 announced the opening of a downtown Indianapolis office, located on the sixth floor of the Circle Tower. Edmond T. Cleary,

the relocation officer for Indiana, promised that evacuees would be placed only in Hoosier communities where sentiment for their reception was favorable. To ensure that existing workers would not be displaced by cheap labor, Cleary affirmed that the Japanese Americans would receive the prevailing wage rates in local communities. "We are here only to fill a need if the need exists," he proclaimed, adding that the evacuees had received security clearances and were available for farm labor.[12]

While the War Relocation Authority took responsibility for the public half of the partnership, the private sector in Indiana was represented by two volunteer groups. The first was affiliated with an existing national network. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America was organized in 1908, with an initial participation of 33 Protestant denominations, as a result of the move toward ecumenism in the wake of the Social Gospel movement. The Home Missions Council of North America was also organized in 1908; it worked for interdenominational cooperation in areas of population growth, declining rural areas, and among immigrant groups. Like the WRA, these national organizations began preparing for resettlement almost as soon as the internment camps were opened.[13]

A brief look at the home missions establishment, as it existed in 1941, will help to explain the interest of these churches in the Japanese American dilemma. By that time American churches had been sending missionaries to Japan for several decades. There was a cadre of active and returned missionaries representing many denominations. In the days after Pearl Harbor, Dr. Frank Herron Smith, superintendent of the Japanese Methodist churches in California, took the initiative in coordinating

their efforts to stop the mass evacuation of Japanese Americans. Dr. Mark A. Dawber, executive secretary of the Home Missions Council, hurried to the West Coast where he commissioned Smith's group to establish the Protestant Church Commission for Japanese Service, with the Rev. Gordon K. Chapman, formerly a Presbyterian missionary in Japan, as its executive secretary. Smith and Chapman, along with Galen M. Fisher, a former Y.M.C.A. secretary in Japan, W.C. James, a local Quaker, and Dr. C.A. Richardson, a secretary of the Methodist Board, called on General DeWitt, the Western Defense Commander, to urge him to hold hearings for individual Japanese, offering church buildings and returned missionaries to act as interpreters for that purpose. DeWitt refused to meet with them personally and sent a substitute in his place.[14]

When Congressman John H. Tolan arrived on the West Coast to hold investigative hearings on the Japanese American issue, these and other church people were among the most active in testifying against wholesale evacuation and internment. Dr. Paul Reagor, president of the Northern California Church Federation, supported by Smith, Chapman, Fisher, and James, spoke at the San Francisco hearings. Floyd Schmoe, a Quaker connected with the American Friends Service Committee, reported that of the twelve people who spoke against evacuation at the Tolan Committee's Seattle hearings on March 11, 1942, eight were church-related people, three of them Quakers, including Schmoe himself. Outnumbered four to one by people testifying in favor of internment, they were unable to convince the committee, which was, in any case, merely advisory to the military authorities under General DeWitt.[15]

Nevertheless, there was a missionary community intimately familiar with and concerned about the West Coast Japanese population, and much of this community was formally associated through the mechanism of the Home Missions Council. One member denomination, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) had particular ties to Indiana, as well as to the Japanese American community in California. Like other denominations, the Disciples of Christ had a mission church serving the Japanese in California, linked to the church hierarchy through the United Christian Missionary Society (UCMS). This arm of the church was formed in 1920 by the union of several Disciples of Christ mission groups, the wealthiest (and therefore most powerful) of which was the Christian Woman's Board of Missions. Both the UCMS and the church itself had their headquarters in Indianapolis.[16]

The Japanese Christian Church and Institute in Los Angeles had been established as a key Disciples congregation before the war. Its pastor was Kojiro Unoura. In early March 1942 President Robert M. Hopkins of the UCMS sent a representative, William R. Holder, to Los Angeles in response to a plea from the Japanese Christian Church. Holder spoke to the congregation on Sunday, March 8, and met with the church board that afternoon. On March 9, he filed his report to the home office; the report was published in the April 1942 issue of *World Call*, the UCMS magazine. The report gives an interesting snapshot of the desperate attempts to deal with the looming Japanese American crisis, for at the time of its writing evacuation seemed certain but internment was not. Rumors suggested that the people would be "assigned for resettlement in places as yet undetermined." Holder wrote, "The picture

of them wandering about, wanted nowhere but forced to keep moving, haunted one's mind." Once the Tolan Committee hearings had ended, the missionary society could do little else other than offer moral support and appoint a special committee to prepare for practical action. Disciples of Christ members at other churches in southern California were asked to offer their homes as places where members of the Japanese American congregation could store their household goods.[17]

In a retrospective article for *World Call*, Unoura wrote that on May 9, 1942, "nearly forty years of concerted effort of Disciples of Christ abruptly came to an end." The ministers went with their people during the evacuation; Unoura to Heart Mountain, Wyoming, and assistant pastor Kenzo Kubota to Poston Relocation Center with church people from San Bernardino. Unoura later wrote of the "unspeakable joy" of receiving Caucasian visitors to Heart Mountain and of the Christmas gifts sent to the interned people by Christian friends throughout the country.[18]

In late summer of 1942, the general assembly of the Disciples of Christ held its International Convention at Grand Rapids, Michigan. As reported in *World Call*, Japanese American internment was a hot topic for the delegates. The UCMS, with the approval of its cabinet and board of managers, put forward a resolution expressing concern for the maintenance of democratic principles in wartime and pointing out that to intern more than 100,000 people, 70 percent of them American citizens, without the filing of charges or conviction of any crime, was contrary to American ideals of justice. The resolution called for hearing boards for internees, release of those judged loyal, aid in securing jobs, and compensation for losses. After removing some language that

seemed critical of the government, "The revised document was passed by an overwhelming vote, despite the frantic efforts of one or two delegates to encompass its defeat."[19]

The denomination, then, had formed a consensus and was well prepared for the next crucial event. On September 24, 1942, the Federal Council of Churches and the Home Missions Council convened a meeting in New York City. Miss Dale Ellis, who was the executive secretary of institutional missions for the UCMS, represented the Disciples of Christ at this meeting. Two WRA representatives, Thomas W. Holland and John H. Provinse, explained in detail the strategy for resettlement and talked about what the churches could do to assist. The minutes of the meeting capture many fascinating details of the WRA's plan. Holland was asked how the WRA intended to start the project. He answered, "We intend to concentrate effort in a relatively few places like Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis or Des Moines—nine or ten mid-west communities. This would be the resettlement of the first thousand." Other topics discussed were Catholic and Jewish collaboration, conditions for release of internees, and methods of assisting with job placement. Asked whether periodic check-ups on the resettlers would be necessary, Holland replied, "I would like to see these people restored to complete freedom, wards of nobody. But it might be well, in cases where single girls are employed, for someone on the local committee to investigate carefully the position open and then after she begins work to keep an eye on how she gets along."[20]

At the group's second meeting on October 7, 1942, votes were taken, and the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans officially came into being. Dale

Ellis was present at this meeting, also. Fourteen constituent bodies or denominations, including the Disciples of Christ, joined forces and began the committee's work of organizing local support groups for resettlers, finding jobs and housing. By October 20, the committee, having agreed on a budget of $10,000-$15,000 for administration, had an executive secretary, George E. Rundquist, on the job.[21]

The same group of churches was active on the Protestant Church Commission for Japanese Service, which took responsibility for working inside the relocation camps. The commission cooperated with the Committee on Resettlement but operated independently. On the issue of public relations, the commission resolved to "Follow the advice of the Committee as to publicity, through press and platform, regarding resettlement, in order to conform to the general strategy of the War Relocation Authority." The phrase "and platform" referred to the practice of sending speakers to inform congregations throughout the country about Japanese American internment and resettlement.[22]

So in the spring of 1943, at which time the Indianapolis field office of the WRA was being set up, Dale Ellis and the UCMS were ready. Rundquist sent a letter from the Committee on Resettlement to Ellis on May 18, 1943, advising her to get in touch with Cleary, the WRA representative who had just been posted to Indianapolis. Rundquist wrote: "I believe now is the time for you to organize your forces to open up homes for evacuees who might resettle in your city. Possibly you could arrange also to meet some of the evacuees at the station as they arrive, and plan to render other services you may deem necessary to help in the satisfactory relocation and assimilation of these people

into the community." Rundquist also asked Ellis to keep his staff informed of resettlement activities undertaken by the churches in Indianapolis. The Indianapolis field office was, however, not among the first to open in the Midwest; the office in Cleveland, like the one in Chicago, had opened its doors in January 1943.[23]

Rundquist sent the same letter to Howard J. Baumgartel of the Indianapolis Y.M.C.A. Both the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. were represented at the third meeting of the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans, held in Chicago on October 25, 1942. Toru Matsumoto, an assistant and later director for resettlement on the committee's staff, wrote of this meeting, "as those present expressed their views, representing wide ranges of community life, resettlement came to seem not only possible but highly desirable."[24]

The UCMS carried out its work on behalf of relocated Japanese Americans through its Committee on War Services, which had been formed in 1941. Willard M. Wickizer, director of the Home Missions Division of the UCMS, served as executive secretary of the committee. Other Indianapolis members included Cleo Blackburn, Clifford H. Jope, Mrs. H.B. Marx, and William T. Pearcy, with additional members from Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio, Missouri, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. Blackburn was a well-known figure in the city's African American community; he was the executive director of Flanner House and an ordained Disciples of Christ minister.[25]

The UCMS, then, had two assignments. It continued to shepherd its flock of approximately 900 Japanese American Disciples of Christ members, now scattered throughout the nation, and also provided leadership for the local committee responsible

for resettlement activities in Indianapolis, their headquarters. The UCMS eventually had a staff of four Japanese Americans working with its relocated members. In June 1942 the UCMS hired James Sugioka to work with Japanese Americans in the Arkansas Valley area of southern Colorado, where a number of people who had left the West Coast to avoid internment were beginning to settle. Sugioka, an elder in the Hollister (California) Christian Church before the war, had himself moved to Colorado with his family shortly before the military prohibited people from leaving the West Coast area. In 1944 Sugioka was reassigned to the headquarters office in Indianapolis, reporting to the Committee on War Services. From that base he facilitated the resettlement effort by visiting both the internment camps and Disciples congregations around the country. After the war ended, he stayed on with the UCMS, eventually becoming an ordained minister in the Disciples of Christ church and interim minister at three Indiana churches.[26]

The UCMS, in cooperation with the Colorado Christian Missionary Society, hired Reverend Unoura to take Sugioka's place in the Arkansas Valley of Colorado. He was instructed not to start a "segregated racial church" but to encourage the people to join existing area congregations. Unoura wrote that he had the "hearty cooperation" of all Christian ministers in the valley, leading to the success of his efforts. He also visited Disciples constituents in Colorado's Granada Relocation Center, 90 miles away, and kept up a correspondence with others in 20 different states.[27]

Historian Sandra C. Taylor of the University of Utah has written about the Committee on Resettlement and its role in Japanese American relocation. In parallel

with the practical problem of finding jobs and housing, she points to two public relations challenges that the churches faced: reassuring internees inside the camps about their prospects if they were to relocate and convincing their own constituents outside the camps to support the effort. The Protestant groups approached both the "inside" and "outside" tasks by publishing literature: bulletins for the internees, reporting on conditions in specific eastern and midwestern cities, and pamphlets for their congregations, aimed at stirring up favorable sentiment toward the resettlers.[28]

The effort to influence outside public opinion through church channels went back to a tactic advanced by the WRA in 1942. A "Plan for General Promotion" attached to the minutes of the September 24 meeting in New York and aimed at creating a favorable atmosphere for resettlement contains the suggestion, "Publicity in the public press and, in particular, in the religious press toward this same end." The phrase, "Publicity in the public press," however, is crossed out. Once again, Thomas W. Holland's advice evidently prevailed with the committee. He was asked "Will it be wise to have a publicity program?" Holland replied: "No. Right now to open up a wide publicity campaign would probably arouse the country unnecessarily. It would get communities excited over a 'Japanese invasion,' for example." To a follow-up question about publicity within the churches, however, Holland responded, "You should make them fully aware of the mechanics of the project and of what is involved. This is different from putting items into the local newspapers."[29]

The WRA also fostered the "inside" public relations campaign. In August and September 1943, the agency sent a photographer, Charles E. Mace, to the Midwest.

Beginning in Chicago on August 18, Mace proceeded to Cleveland, then spent four days in Indiana (August 24-27), before heading to St. Louis and Kansas City. His assignment was to depict the amenities of life in the Hoosier State with the objective of attracting more internees to the area. The caption for one photograph reads: "The residents of Indianapolis are for the most part amusement lovers. The city boasts dozens of theaters, both legitimate and movie. One of the latter is the Indiana, shown here." Another photograph shows "A street scene in The Circle, the hub of the Indianapolis business district. In the center are shops, theatres, restaurants, a church, etc. Buses to and from all parts of the city take on and unload passengers here." Mace also photographed the countryside west of Indianapolis and all along his route. Good farm land is presented, along with "A small town typical of those found in the Midwest farming regions" (Plainfield, Indiana).[30]

If the photographs are any evidence, the resettlers who came to Indiana were typical of the demographic group most likely to leave the camps, which Dorothy Swaine Thomas characterized as "the most highly assimilated segments of the Japanese American minority" or "Christian-secular nonagricultural Nisei." In other words, one problem that the local committees did not have to deal with, at least initially, was that of cultural adjustment. Most of the early resettlers were not immigrants; as Nisei, they were middle-class, English-speaking citizens who had grown up in American schools and neighborhoods. At the time of World War II, the Nisei would have been people in their twenties and thirties.[31]

Four Japanese Americans were photographed by Mace in Indianapolis. All were young women, three employed as secretaries, one as a waitress. Two, Marie Kitaz[u]mi and Monica Itoi, can be seen "at the entrance to a church where they attend services." Their clothing and hair styles could not be more "American." Another resettler is shown purchasing a $100 war bond at a Colonial Dames booth, "with money saved from her salary." Mace's photographs, in other words, not only try to show Indianapolis in its best light, they also depict the resettlers as model citizens who fit in well in their new communities.

Both the WRA and the churches continued their attempts to form favorable public opinion. On November 16, 1943, Dillon S. Myer came to Indianapolis to speak at a meeting of State Commanders and State Adjutants of the American Legion. Acknowledging his dismay at the negative sentiments about the relocation program which the Legion had expressed in various resolutions, he welcomed the chance to give them "full and accurate information." Myer explained in detail the WRA's method of compiling a comprehensive docket on each individual who applied for release from the internment camps. He emphasized the difference between these camps and the internment camps built by the Department of Justice to imprison suspicious enemy aliens, declaring that the purpose of the WRA's camps was "to provide places where the evacuees could be quartered while we were developing an orderly program of relocation in normal communities." Myer did not neglect to point out the pragmatic arguments for resettlement: the expense of maintaining the camps, their consumption of goods and materials needed elsewhere, and the nationwide manpower shortage. But

he also appealed to the Legion's desire to promote American ideals, something impossible to do in "an atmosphere which makes a mockery of our American traditions." Myer considered this speech, which was reported in the *Indianapolis Star*, to be a significant step forward, remarking in a memorandum the following month that within the leadership of the American Legion, "unfriendly though it has been, we have secured a substantial amount of understanding and support."[32]

The Disciples of Christ also continued their efforts to sway public opinion. At the church's International Convention at Columbus, Ohio, on October 17-22, 1944, the delegates issued a resolution on "Restoration of Rights to Americans of Japanese Descent." The resolution expressed thanks to the Federal Government for its efforts in resettlement work, to the Home Missions Council for its service in the relocation camps, and to "churches around the country which have helped to find employment for these people, have secured community acceptance, and have supplied them with spiritual guidance." It then pointedly thanked the FBI and the War Department for making public the fact that these people were *not* guilty of sabotage in Hawaii (as had been widely reported) and the Selective Service for allowing Japanese Americans to serve in the armed forces and for publicizing their "exceptional record on the European Front as well as in the South Pacific." In conclusion, the delegates called upon the Federal Government to remove "whatever restrictions have been imposed upon these people because of race" and restore to them "all of the freedoms which other Americans enjoy." This resolution, duly reported in *World Call*, reinforced the UCMS's public relations campaign aimed at the outside audience.[33]

The Committee on War Services stepped up its efforts to carry out its "inside" communications task in January 1945 when it began publishing a newsletter for its scattered Japanese American flock. This publication, the *Disciple Herald*, provided information about life on the outside for internees who might be thinking of leaving the camps. "In this period of unparalleled readjustment," wrote the committee's executive secretary, Willard M. Wickizer, "we want to be of every possible help." News items about Japanese Americans who had resettled in Chicago, Rochester (Minnesota), Cleveland, Indianapolis, and Cincinnati appeared in the first issue. "Generally speaking, prejudice is less, east of the Missouri River, or roughly, east of 95 degrees latitude," declared the *Disciple Herald*, although it also warned against some states with discriminatory laws. Admitting that housing was a major headache, the publication advised resettlers to start with leads from friends, newspapers, or a committee. It also summarized the employment picture: plentiful domestic jobs ("usually a stepping stone to something better for those with ability"), plentiful industrial jobs ("even for those with language difficulty"), plentiful farming opportunities in both the North and South, and, most enticingly, professional positions ("skilled trade, clerical and so on—all for the applying and taking").[34]

The Committee on War Services had also been working on the job situation in its role as liaison for Indiana. In July 1943, Miss Jessie M. Trout, a Disciples missionary, along with Paul Sato and Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Tsukamoto, took a tour of rural Indiana communities, under the sponsorship of the UCMS and WRA. Their purpose was to survey the farm labor situation and gauge community sentiment toward

Japanese Americans. They met with more than 1,700 people, including farm groups, church groups, town officials, industrialists, and others. The *World Call* reported: "Even when there was early evidence of suspicion or apathy, the simple telling of the story almost invariably won friends."[35]

Occasionally, the *Disciple Herald* passed along an opportunity in Indiana, such as an offer of $150 per month and a furnished 5-room bungalow in exchange for the services of a couple, an ad placed by Mr. Otto Frenzel, Hobby Horse Farm, Carmel, Indiana. Mr. G. Ikeda of Knox, Indiana, advertised for a family interested in farming, noting that there was school bus service and that the farm was "near Bass Lake, a famous fishing spot." Another farm owner, Mr. Lawrence Lindley of Hagerstown, Indiana, offered a salary of $80 to $90 per month, with the comment, "Salary may seem low but it is no lower than those prevailing in that area and a man is able to save," given that Mr. Lindley also agreed to furnish electricity, five tons of coal per year, one gallon of milk per day, 400 pounds of meat per year, a place to raise chickens for family use, and a plot of land for a home garden.[36]

The War Relocation Authority reported that 254 Japanese, 202 of them American born, gave Indiana as their destination upon permanent departure from the internment camps. How does this number compare with other midwestern locations? The city that took in the largest number of Japanese from the camps, by far, was Chicago. Other important destinations included Cleveland, Detroit, and Minneapolis/St. Paul (see Table 3). The recurring historical pattern of low migration rates to Indiana, as

compared with the other states of the Old Northwest and upper Midwest, held true for this diaspora.[37]

Table 3
Midwestern Destinations of Evacuees Relocating from WRA Centers

Illinois	12,776
Chicago	11,309
Indiana	254
Iowa	641
Des Moines	378
Michigan	3,047
Detroit	1,649
Minnesota	2,046
Minneapolis	1,354
St. Paul	282
Missouri	1,108
Kansas City	346
St. Louis	469
Ohio	4,422
Cleveland	3,089
Cincinnati	616
Wisconsin	769
Milwaukee	422

SOURCE: U.S. Department of the Interior, *WRA: A Story of Human Conservation* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 203-5.

The reason for Indiana's lack of attraction may be lukewarm positive influences rather than outright negative factors. As evidenced by the need for the inside publicity campaign, people in the internment camps were generally reluctant to venture out into unfamiliar and potentially hostile parts of the country. Even though the majority had been cleared to leave by July 1943, many hesitated because they feared hostile public reaction and, having suffered economic losses, were worried about jobs and housing. To counteract this uncertainty, employers from some cities, driven by the shortage of homefront manpower during the war, recruited workers aggressively. The Stevens

Hotel in Chicago, for example, hired several hundred evacuees through strong recruiting efforts. Cities such as Chicago, Minneapolis, and Cleveland could also offer more jobs and a wider range of occupations. Finally, although housing remained scarce, church groups in Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Des Moines, led by the American Friends Service Committee and the Brethren Service Committee, operated hostels to provide reasonably priced living accommodations until resettlers could find permanent housing. There is no indication that Indianapolis or other Indiana cities offered any of these incentives to relocating Japanese Americans.[38]

Michael Albert, one of the first scholars to write about resettlement in the Midwest, points out that three factors influenced the choice of Minnesota as a destination for Japanese Americans leaving the internment camps. One was the presence of the Military Intelligence Service Language School. The Minneapolis/St. Paul area also had many colleges and universities that accepted Nisei students, including Macalester, Hamline, St. Catherine's, St. Thomas, St. Cloud, and Carleton. Finally, Albert remarks on "the prompt mobilization of Minnesota agencies to aid resettlers moving into the area."[39]

Thomas M. Lineham of Oberlin College suggests that Cleveland's popularity as a destination for Japanese American resettlers, second only to Chicago, may be attributed in part to the city's well-developed network of charities and social service agencies, which in turn contributed to the effectiveness of its citizen group, the Cleveland Resettlement Committee for Japanese Americans. By mid-1945 the committee had a membership of 75, with a fifteen-to-twenty-member executive

committee. Lineham's research also indicates several different Protestant denominations participating, as well as Jewish and Catholic charities in Cleveland.[40]

The final reports submitted to the War Relocation Authority also provide explanations for the state's lack of success in placing resettlers. However, these documents offer two very different interpretations of what happened in Indiana. The first version is contained in the "History of the North Central Area," written from the viewpoint of the Chicago area office, which served as a headquarters for the region. This report noted the Midwest's overall success in its resettlement campaign, compared with other regions of the country. The writer argues that it could hardly have been the physical characteristics of the area, still less the climate, that attracted Japanese Americans. Rather, it was the "excellent reception given to resettlers by the people of the Middle West." Relocation officers had anticipated great difficulty in convincing employers to hire the Japanese Americans. Instead, their clients were eagerly sought after and easily placed, requiring minimal assistance.[41]

As a result, the North Central Area report praised the laissez-faire approach that soon developed in Chicago and Minneapolis ("one job, one housing, and you're on your own") as wholesome, normal, and supportive of the resettlers' return to independence. In contrast, the report criticized the Indianapolis office's "protective attitude" as "tending to continue the paternalism of the relocation center." The citizens' committee and relocation officers in Indianapolis carried on a policy of "pre-selection," scrutinizing applications from internees and approving only those they considered "superior people," well-educated and highly desirable. According to this report,

committee members and relocation officers in Indianapolis (and, to some extent, St. Louis) slowed down the resettlement process by insisting on taking resettlers personally to prospective employers and by housing them as domestics in carefully selected homes. In contrast, the members of the Milwaukee committee merely lent their names to the letterhead and assumed almost no actual responsibilities.[42]

The report that the Indianapolis office submitted to the War Relocation Authority paints a very different picture. In this writer's opinion, "Indianapolis' acceptance of the Japanese Americans seemed highly improbable in the beginning." Within an otherwise articulate and grammatical report, there is an odd statement that hints at endemic conservatism and caution: "Hoosiers have a very substantial background. They do not make over strange faces." The first representative of the WRA to visit Indianapolis, Ted Waller, found "negative responses" in the political situation and with the labor unions, opposition being perceived from the International Teamsters' Union, whose national headquarters was in Indianapolis, as well as the Marion County Building Trades Council, as mentioned above. (The C.I.O., in contrast, was cited as a staunch supporter of resettlement.) Waller recommended that the WRA's officers in Indianapolis consult individuals in labor, the American Legion, government, and business before "releasing Japanese Americans in Indiana." In addition, the report states that the first major problem was the "anti-Japanese attitude of the Negro community towards the arrival of a new minority." This prejudice apparently stemmed not from hatred of people of Japanese ancestry, but rather from fear on the part of African

Americans that the newcomers would threaten the recent gains in employment which they had enjoyed as a result of the wartime shortage of manpower.[43]

In this alternate version of what took place in Indiana, it was the citizen committees' efforts that turned the tide and convinced a reluctant populace to accept the Japanese Americans. These committees constituted the second group of volunteers involved in the War Relocation Authority's public-private partnership. The Indianapolis report identifies the members of the WRA Advisory Committee. It singles out Rowland Allen, personnel manager of L.S. Ayres and Company department store, and Dr. and Mrs. Howard J. Baumgartel as the leaders of the committee. Other participants included Mr. and Mrs. Howard Nyhart, William Book, executive secretary of the city's Chamber of Commerce, Eugene Foster of the Indianapolis Service Foundation, and Alvin T. Coate, a "prominent Quaker." The report also notes that the problem with the Black community "disappeared under some of our able Negro leaders' guidance. Mr. Cleo Blackburn, known throughout the city, has been our principal aid." Additional support was provided by social and governmental agencies, such as the Y.W.C.A. and the United States Employment Service, whose manager, a Mr. Bennett, was especially helpful and attended some of the committee meetings. In Fort Wayne and South Bend, the secretaries of the Y.W.C.A. took an active part in helping the relocation officers, arranging meetings for them with the heads of other agencies in their communities.[44]

One of Charles Mace's Indiana photographs portrays a meeting of the "committee on housing," a group of nicely dressed women, including one or two African Americans. They are "discussing ways and means of finding suitable quarters

for the many relocatees who are finding employment in Indianapolis." Also shown in the photograph are Edmond T. Cleary, Relocation Officer for Indianapolis, and Walter Futamachi from the Rohwer camp in Arkansas. Only one of the women, Mrs. Royal McLain, is identified in the caption. The Indianapolis district office's report, however, sheds some light on the housing committee. It was organized late in 1943, and it attempted to write to all the women leaders of all the churches in Indianapolis regarding the housing dilemma. The committee was disappointed when only offers for temporary housing, excluding families with children, developed from this campaign. The relocation office found there was only one viable method of obtaining housing for families—"having employers furnish a house along with the job if they wanted to secure Japanese help." The housing difficulty is further explained, as the report points out, by the influx of defense workers and the boom town conditions that had already hit Indianapolis by the time the relocation office began its work.[45]

Less than 20 years after the height of the Ku Klux Klan's reign in Indiana, realizing the hatred and hysteria that had brought about the internment in the first place, and having heard from some vocal opponents of resettlement, it would have taken quite a leap of faith for the committee members and relocation officers to suppose that Indiana would welcome the Japanese Americans. Perhaps the Chicago area office had a point, and the committee simply overreacted. What we do know is that they set about to solve the problem, however large or small it may have been, with energy and determination, in a spirit of collaboration.

In December 1945 the Indianapolis District Office of the War Relocation Authority prepared to close its doors. A letter from Relocation Officer Marie Kitazumi advised resettlers who wanted to return to their former homes on the West Coast to hasten their applications for financial assistance for travel or shipping of property held in WRA warehouses. The office and the warehouses would both close on February 1, 1946. Kitazumi noted, however, that other agencies in the area would continue to provide services to resettlers, and she promised to send under separate cover a directory of these organizations. When published by the WRA, the directory listed the following Indianapolis agencies: Legal Aid Society, Y.W.C.A, Council of Social Agencies, Church Federation, Department of Public Welfare, United States Employment Service. Kitazumi concluded her letter by writing, "I hope that you, like most people who have come in this district during the past several years, are planning to make your new home a permanent one. I know that you will continue to find opportunity and security here."[46]

Historians and investigating commissions have chronicled the dire effects of the *removal* on Japanese Americans, in terms of lost homes, possessions, and livelihoods, but they have only recently begun to examine the not inconsiderable effects of the *dispersal* on the Japanese population and, indeed, on the nation as a whole. There is some consensus suggesting that, because of wartime conditions, Japanese Americans who went east benefited from unprecedented employment opportunities outside the ethnic enclave, in industrial work, white-collar work, and other professions. The Midwest is clearly a key part of this emerging story, illustrated in the following passage from a memoir by one resettler:

> Hoping to find employment in a hotel, I journeyed to Chicago. No sooner had I arrived than I discovered that beauty operators were in great demand, so I was able to obtain work in my profession. . . . Despite the war, I found very little discrimination in the Midwest compared with California. I also found a warm neighborhood church . . . .[47]

The decennial census of 1950 shows that a major shift had indeed taken place in the Japanese American population. In the North Central region, the numbers were impressive. Illinois had seen an increase from 462 in 1940 to 11,646 in 1950. Substantial gains were also recorded in Michigan (from 139 to 1,517), Minnesota (from 51 to 1,049), and Ohio (from 163 to 1,986). In 1940 the region was home to only 1.24 percent of the total mainland Japanese American population; in 1950, its share had grown to 13.21 percent.

Table 4
Japanese American Population in U.S. Regions, 1940 and 1950

Region	Japanese American Population in 1940	Japanese American Population in 1950	Percent of Mainland Total in 1940	Percent of Mainland Total in 1950
Pacific Coast	112,353	98,310	88.50	69.35
Mountain West	8,574	14,231	6.75	10.04
North Central	1,571	18,734	1.24	13.21
South	1,049	3,055	0.83	2.15
Northeast	3,400	7,438	2.68	5.25
Total (Mainland)	126,947	141,768	100.00	100.00

SOURCE: 2002. Table C-7. Asian and Pacific Islander, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States: 1940 and 1950 [on-line]. Washington: U.S. Census Bureau; available from http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0056/tabC-07.xls; accessed 28 April 2004.

What is so striking about the account of Japanese American relocation as seen from the vantage point of Indianapolis and the Disciples of Christ is the level of

coordination and the flow of information around the country, which in turn enabled churches and committees to take action. It was a truly cooperative interdenominational and interagency effort. For example, the hostels for new resettlers were sponsored in the midwestern states by the American Friends Service Committee (Cincinnati and Des Moines), the American Baptist Home Mission Society (Cleveland), the Detroit Council of Churches (Detroit), the Lutheran Church (Minneapolis), and "cooperating Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic groups" (Kansas City). Others around the country were operated by various committees, councils, and churches. [48]

If, as the saying goes, all that is required for evil to prevail is for good men to do nothing, then the corollary might be that for good people to do something, they have to think globally, act locally, and organize nationally. Indianapolis was called upon to do its part in Japanese American resettlement because, then as now, although not in the very top rank, it was "on the map" at the national level, both as a major city and as the headquarters of prominent national organizations. When the call came, there were people in Indianapolis who were prepared to answer.

[1] *Indianapolis Star*, December 8, 1941. Nakarai, a member of Butler's College of Religion for 15 years, and Sasaki, who had operated his City Market stand for almost 30 years, accounted for two of the 21 Japanese males recorded in the 1940 census of Indiana, along with eight females. Both Nakarai and Sasaki were married to Indiana natives.

[2] U.S. Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, *WRA: A Story of Human Conservation* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), viii, 13; Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988; reprint, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 214-7, 338 (page citations are to the reprint edition). See also note 8. The most famous of the Supreme Court cases related to the evacuation and internment was *Korematsu v. United States* (323 U.S. 214, 1944). Fred Korematsu was arrested for remaining within the restricted zone. Two prior cases were *Hirabayashi v. United States* (320 U.S. 81, 1943) and *Yasui v. United States* (320 U.S. 115, 1943); Gordon Hirabayashi and Minoru Yasui violated the curfew imposed on Japanese Americans. *Korematsu* and *Hirabayashi* were overturned by lower courts in the 1980s; Yasui died before his appeal could be heard. Brian Niiya, ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History: An A-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present, Updated Edition* (New York: Checkmark Books for The Japanese American National Museum, 2003), 251-2, 194-5, 422-4, 145-6. See also note 11.

[3] Thomas James, *Exile Within: The Schooling of Japanese Americans, 1942-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 112-39.

[4] U.S. Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, *The Relocation Program* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 4, 14.

[5] *Indianapolis Star*, September 7, 1942; Justin Libby, "Japanese," in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, ed. Robert M. Taylor, Jr., and Connie A. McBirney (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 303-4; *Richmond Palladium-Item and Sun-Telegram*, September 5, 1942. *The Palladium-Item* story uses the term "American-born" Japanese three times to refer to the students, no doubt reflecting Dennis' deliberate rhetoric. The word "Jap" does not appear in the *Palladium-Item* article, which, for the times, is rather unusual.

[6] WRA, *The Relocation Program*, 14-5.

[7] Richard Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 52-3. In order to obtain leave clearance from the camps, resettlers had to answer questions such as: "Will you assist in the general resettlement program by staying away from large groups of Japanese?" "Will you try to develop such American habits which will cause you to be accepted readily into American social groups?" and "Will you conform to the customs and dress of your new home?"

[8] WRA, *WRA: A Story of Human Conservation*, 132-33; Roosevelt quoted in Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 80; Ickes quoted in Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps*,

60. Roosevelt may have meant "people," not families, as the total number interned was approximately 120,000. Greg Robinson, a historian who studied FDR's role in the internment, concluded that political expediency and indifference to the civil rights of Japanese Americans were the main factors behind President Roosevelt's actions. Yet there was also, in Robinson's view, a more personal motive: "Franklin Roosevelt had a long history of advocating the Americanization of minority groups as a way of relieving racial and ethnic tension. What he wanted to achieve, by whatever means, was assimilation." Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 236.

[9] Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps*, 39-42, 56.

[10] WRA, *The Relocation Program*, 6-8; Audrie Girdner and Anne Loftis, *The Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of Japanese-Americans During World War II* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1969), 116.

[11] WRA, *The Relocation Program*, 19; *Indianapolis News*, January 29, 1943. Rowalt's promises notwithstanding, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, in the case of *Ex Parte Endo* (323 U.S. 283, 1944), that the War Relocation Authority was without authority to subject to its leave procedure a concededly loyal and law-abiding citizen of the United States and that the executive orders afforded no basis for keeping loyal evacuees of Japanese ancestry in custody on the ground of community hostility in their intended destinations. This decision did not come, however, until December 1944.

[12] *Indianapolis Star*, May 13, 1943.

[13] Everett L. Perry, "National Council of Churches," in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Society*, ed. William H. Swatos, Jr. (Hartford, CT: Hartford Institute for Research, 1998); available from http://hirr.hartsem.edu/ency/NCC.htm; accessed January 1, 2004. The Federal Council of Churches and the Home Missions Council merged with 10 other organizations in 1950 to form the National Council of Churches. A January 1943 letterhead of the Home Missions Council described it as "The Interchurch Agency of Home Missions Boards and Societies of Twenty-Three Denominations." In addition to several mainline denominations, such as the Methodists and Presbyterians, and peace churches, such as the Society of Friends, they included the National Baptist, A.M.E., A.M.E. Zion, and C.M.E. churches.

[14] Toru Matsumoto, *Beyond Prejudice: A Story of the Church and Japanese Americans* (New York: Friendship Press, 1946), 13-14. Toru Matsumoto was on the staff of the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans, and this account was published for the committee.

[15] Matsumoto, *Beyond Prejudice*, 15; Floyd Schmoe, "Seattle's Peace Churches and Relocation," in *Japanese Americans From Relocation to Redress*, rev. ed., ed. Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H.L. Kitano (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 117.

[16] Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker, *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1975), 344-51.

[17] *World Call*, April 1942, p. 14. All issues of *World Call*, the magazine of the United Christian Missionary Society, cited herein are from the files of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee (hereafter DCHS).

[18] *World Call*, November 1944, p. 19.

[19] *World Call*, September 1942, p. 16.

[20] "Minutes of Special Group Called to Consider Plans for Japanese Resettlement," September 24, 1942, New York City, in the files of the Committee on War Services, AC #81-40, DCHS, Box 1; *Disciple Herald*, December 1945, p. 2 (see note 34).

[21] J. Quinter Miller, Secretary-Treasurer of the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans, to committee members, November 10, 1942, DCHS, Box 1. The 14 constituent bodies were: Church of the Brethren, Congregational and Christian Churches, Disciples of Christ, Evangelical Church, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Friends, Mennonites, Methodist Church, Northern Baptist Convention, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Protestant Episcopal Church, Reformed Church in America, United Brethren Church, United Presbyterian Church.

[22] Toru Matsumoto, *Beyond Prejudice*, 142-4; Gordon K. Chapman, "Memorandum on the Scope, Function, and Policies of the Western Protestant Church Commission for Japanese Service," Dec. 9, 1942, DCHS, Box 1.

[23] George E. Rundquist to Dale Ellis, May 18, 1943, DCHS, Box 1; WRA, *The Relocation Program*, 89.

[24] Toru Matsumoto, *Beyond Prejudice*, 55-56.

[25] Willard M. Wickizer to Committee on War Services, January 18, 1945, DCHS, Box 1; McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, 394-95, 407; Michelle D. Hale, "Blackburn, Cleo W.," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, ed. David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 323-4.

[26] *World Call*, September 1942, p. 20; *Bamboo Heritage* 3 (Apr., 1978), Hoosier Chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League papers, in possession of the author, Indianapolis (hereafter "Hoosier JACL papers"). All copies of *The Hoosier JACL Newsletter* (the newsletter of the Hoosier Chapter, renamed *Bamboo Heritage* beginning with the April 1977 issue) that are referenced herein are in the Hoosier JACL papers. The Sugioka clan, including James Sugioka's father, Seijiro, left Hollister in a caravan shepherded by the church's minister, the Rev. Walter Girdner, who went in the lead car and vouched for the family as they entered towns along the way. The story is told both by Girdner and Loftis, *The Great Betrayal*, 117, and in Kathleen Van Nuys' "Retired Minister Recalls Nightmare," *Indianapolis News*, Dec. 7, 1977.

[27] *World Call*, November 1944, pp. 19-20.

[28] Sandra C. Taylor, "'Fellow-Feelers with the Afflicted': The Christian Churches and the Relocation of the Japanese During World War II," in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, 126. Taylor's paper was originally presented at the December 28, 1981, luncheon meeting of the Conference on Peace Research History of the American Historical Association.

[29] "Minutes of Special Group Called to Consider Plans for Japanese Resettlement," DCHS, Box 1.

[30] Vol. 43, Section E, WRA no. H-180, *War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement,* BANC PIC 1967.014--PIC, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; available from http://www.oac.cdlib.org/dynaweb/ead/calher/jvac/ (Container Listing, Series 12, Group 84); accessed January 31, 2004.

[31] Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Salvage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 125, 128. Thomas, a sociologist at the University of California (Berkeley), directed the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study (JERS), a large-scale independent research study conducted in four of the internment camps and in Chicago during the war.

[32] "The Relocation Program," speech by Dillon S. Myer to the American Legion, November 16, 1943; Memorandum, Dillon S. Myer to the staff of the War Relocation Authority, A Message for Christmas and the New Year, December 21, 1943, Papers of Dillon S. Myer, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, available from http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/japanese_internment/docs.php; accessed January 31, 2004; *Indianapolis Star*, November 17, 1943. Myer added: "There are a great many people in this country who feel that all persons of Japanese ancestry should be confined under heavy guard for the duration of the war. I want to say right here and now that I consider such a proposal fundamentally un-American."

[33] *World Call*, December 1944, pp. 23, 36.

[34] *News Bulletin*, renamed *The Disciple Herald* after the first issue, Vol. I, No. 1-2, Jan., Mar., 1945, DCHS, Box 1. Seven issues of the *Herald* were published before it ceased operation in October 1946.

[35] *World Call*, September 1943, p. 4.

[36] *Disciple Herald*, Vol. I, No. 3, July 1945, p. 3, DCHS, Box 1; WRA correspondence file, DCHS, Box 2.

[37] WRA, *WRA: A Story of Human Conservation*, 203-5; WRA, *The Relocation Program*, 103.

[38] WRA, *The Relocation Program*, 30-1, 33, 40, 46; Taylor, "'Fellow-Feelers with the Afflicted,'" 126.

[39] Michael Albert, "The Japanese," in *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups*, ed. June Drenning Holmquist (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981), 559.

[40] Thomas M. Lineham, "Japanese American Resettlement in Cleveland During and After World War II, *Journal of Urban History* 20 (Nov. 1993): 58-9.

[41] "History of the North Central Area," (pp. 12-26), Box 6, Folder 1A, Records of the War Relocation Authority, Record Group 210, National Archives Building, Washington, DC. The report comments: "The climate of the area is somewhat rugged and while we have heard thousands of expressions of dislike for it by resettlers, we have heard no compliments."

[42] Ibid.

[43] "Final Report of Indianapolis District Office," Box 6, Folder 2D, Records of the War Relocation Authority.

[44] Ibid.

[45] *War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement*; "Final Report of Indianapolis District Office."

[46] Marie Kitazumi to resettlers, December 31, 1945, DCHS, Box 2; War Relocation Authority, *A Directory of Agencies, groups, and individuals who have made their services available to Resettlers in the North Central Area*, n.d., DCHS, Box 2.

[47] United States Department of the Interior, War Agency Liquidation Unit (formerly War Relocation Authority), *People in Motion: The Postwar Adjustment of the Evacuated Japanese Americans* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), 147-48; Grace Nakano, "Full Circle," in *Triumphs of Faith: Stories of Japanese-American Christians During World War II*, ed. Victor N. Okada (Los Angeles: Japanese-American Internment Project, 1998), 91. As an example of recent scholarship, see Charlotte Brooks, "In the Twilight Zone between Black and White: Japanese American Resettlement and Community in Chicago, 1942-1945," *Journal of American History* 86 (Mar. 2000): 1655-87.

[48] Toru Matsumoto, *Beyond Prejudice*, 144-5.

CHAPTER TWO

JAPANESE AMERICANS: ESPOUSED

Franklin Roosevelt's resettlement strategy never did scatter Japanese Americans throughout the country to the extent he would have liked. In a June 1944 memorandum to Interior Secretary Harold Ickes, FDR had written: "In talking to people from the Middle West, the East and the South, I am sure that there would be no bitterness if they [Japanese] were distributed—one or two families to each county as a start." As the statistics show, the majority of people chose instead to resettle in urban areas, such as Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Minneapolis (see Table 3 in Chapter 1), as well as Indianapolis. The third stream of Japanese Americans who came to the Midwest in the wake of World War II, however, did find their way to the rural areas of states in the region, more closely approximating the settlement pattern proposed by Roosevelt. These young women were the so-called "Japanese war brides."[1]

Roger Daniels' analysis of the 1960 census showed that the migration of young women from Japan accounted for a major shift in the sex ratios of the national Japanese American population. In the cohort of those aged 20 through 39, foreign-born Japanese women outnumbered foreign-born men by just over four to one, a difference that was even greater in areas where military brides made up a large percentage of the ethnic population. The office of the American Consul General stated that "Between June 22, 1947, and December 31, 1952, 10,517 American citizens, principally Armed Service Personnel, married Japanese women. Over 75 per cent of the total Americans are Caucasian." It should be remembered, in this regard, that during the late 1940s and the

1950s a strong American presence in Japan continued due to the post-World War II Occupation, the Korean War, and the Cold War.[2]

These historical events, combined with the passage of legislation, had a direct effect on the number of Japanese women entering the United States during a given postwar year. Ever since the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907-8, followed by the Immigration Act of 1924, few Japanese (or other Asians) had been permitted to immigrate to the United States. During the entire decade from 1931 to 1940, for example, only 1,948 Japanese were counted in the immigration figures. On December 28, 1945, Congress passed the War Brides Act (59 Statutes-at-Large 659), waiving visa requirements and provisions of immigration law for nationals of foreign countries married to members of the American armed forces. Racial barriers were not dropped, however, until Public Law 213, sometimes called the Soldier Brides Act, was enacted on July 22, 1947, extending the benefits of the War Brides Act to persons of "racially ineligible races." The effect of all this legislation is clear in the statistics (see Table 5). Only 14 Japanese-born wives of U.S. citizens entered the country in the year ending June 30, 1947. During the period from July 1947 to June 1948, that figure went up to 298; in the year ending June 30, 1949, the total was 445. Then the War Brides Act expired (on December 28, 1948), so that in the year ending June 30, 1950, only 9 Japanese wives were able to immigrate to America.[3]

Military wives were also affected by the course of the war and the Occupation. The Occupation of Japan officially ended on April 28, 1952. The Korean War began in June 1950 and ended in July 1953, but many soldiers were rotated home during the

Table 5
Immigrant Aliens Admitted, by Classes Under the Immigration Laws and Country or Region of Birth [Japan]

Year Ended	Total	Quota	Wives	Husbands	Children	Wives as Percentage
June 30,			of United States Citizens			
1947	82	53	14	0	1	17.07
1948	371	61	298	0	1	80.32
1949	508	45	445	1	4	87.60
1950	76	34	9	1	0	11.84
1951	198	41	125	0	11	63.13
1952	4517	41	4220	2	221	93.42
1953	2393	93	2042	12	190	85.33
1954	3777	292	2802	105	285	74.19
1955	3984	200	2843	125	299	71.36
1956	5586	129	3661	174	391	65.54
1957	6354	159	5003	168	442	78.74
1958	6543	155	4841	171	492	73.99
1959	5851	132	4412	161	468	75.41
1960	5471	151	3887	170	461	71.05
1961	4313	135	3176	127	404	73.64
1962	3897	195	2677	125	365	68.69
1963	4056	203	2745	122	440	67.68
1964	3680	187	2653	128	465	72.09
1965	3180	189	2350	122	392	73.90
1966	3394	681	1991	143	367	58.66
1967	3946	1351	1821	145	315	46.15
1968	3613	1105	1845	132	294	51.07
1969	3957	1588	1842	94	258	46.55
1970	4485	1743	2104	150	316	46.91
1971	4457	1595	2023	179	267	45.39
1972	4757	1957	1626	190	297	34.18
1973	5461	2158	2077	225	323	38.03
1974	4860	2003	1773	186	318	36.48
1975	4274	2017	1376	168	287	32.19
1976	4258	2062	1238	214	262	29.07

SOURCE: *Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service* (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, 1947-76), Table 6.

previous year. When large numbers of men prepared to leave Asia and return to the United States, they sought to bring their wives with them. All of these factors came together in the year ending June 30, 1952, during which a total of 4,220 Japanese wives and 221 children of U.S. citizens immigrated to America. Contrary to what might be believed, it was not the passage of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 that prompted this growth spurt, for that act did not take effect until December 24, 1952. Rather, most of the wives from Japan were admitted under further special legislation passed to permit the immigration of war brides racially ineligible for admission. With the passage of McCarran-Walter, this dispensation became an established law.[4]

Much of the research on the Japanese war bride phenomenon was conducted by sociologists, and sociological studies made up the majority of the secondary literature on Japanese Americans in general until the new social history movement of the 1960s and 1970s brought historians into the field. Books and articles on war brides therefore tended to focus on questions of class, social adjustment, and marital relations.

Anselm L. Strauss' article, "Strain and Harmony in American-Japanese War-Bride Marriages," was published in the May 1954 issue of *Marriage and Family Living*, followed shortly thereafter by Gerald J. Schnepp and Agnes Masako Yui's "Cultural and Marital Adjustment of Japanese War Brides," in the *American Journal of Sociology*. These early researchers were based in the Midwest: Strauss and his colleagues interviewed 30 men (including some African Americans) and 15 women in the Chicago area; Schnepp and Yui studied 15 couples in the St. Louis area and 5 in the Chicago area. Both groups concluded that, contrary to expectation, these marriages

were as stable and successful as other American marriages, if not more so. Later studies, however, challenged this conclusion by assessing marriages, and divorces, over the longer term. For example, Teresa K. Williams, a sociologist and the child of one successful serviceman-war bride union, wrote in 1991 that stereotypical views persisted and fell short of elucidating the diversity of experiences.[5]

The sudden influx of Japanese war brides was so striking that feature articles also appeared in the popular magazines of the day, including *Life*, *Look*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *Ebony*. The *Saturday Evening Post* article, titled "They're Bringing Home Japanese Wives," remarked that "Six thousand Americans in Japan have taken Japanese brides since 1945, and all the little Madame Butterflys are studying hamburgers, Hollywood and home on the range, before coming to live in the U.S.A." Consistent with the timeline detailed above, these articles began to appear in late 1951 and early 1952.[6]

The sociologists and the magazine readers alike wanted to know what caused this phenomenon and what kind of people were involved. The men were typically young and from all regions of the United States, from both urban and rural areas. They were white, African American, and Japanese American. Some sources believed that those who took Japanese brides were primarily enlisted men and therefore working class and that they may have spent a good deal of their adult lives in the armed forces. The men had to submit to interviews and much red tape before receiving permission to marry. The Japanese authorities, for their part, carried out background checks on the women in order to exclude prostitutes, criminals, and the chronically diseased.[7]

Conditions in Japan, after the occupying forces moved in, provided an ideal opportunity for American servicemen to meet Japanese women. Quite often, the couples met in a work situation. Due to the widespread poverty and dislocation in the defeated country, an unprecedented number of young women entered the work force, escaping the social confines that had kept their mothers at home. Two of the Japanese women interviewed for the current study met their future husbands in exactly this way. One was employed by a bank that owned a building which had been taken over by the Americans, except for its own small office. While she would normally have been frightened by Americans, daily contact with an American soldier who came to her building led to a relationship. Another woman worked in the office of her uncle, an architect who was building houses for the occupying Americans; she too met her husband in the workplace. Both of these women were in the group that arrived in America in 1952. A third interviewee, who married an American in the 1960s, met her husband in a social situation at a friend's party. All three women now live in Indianapolis.[8]

The war bride phenomenon affected the Japanese American population in Indiana, just as it did in other parts of the nation. In fact, the increase in Japanese females between 1950 and 1960 is responsible for the Hoosier Japanese population surpassing the Chinese population by the end of that decade (see Table 6). Moreover, census data show that the growth was very widely distributed throughout the state although the larger Indiana cities understandably had larger Japanese American populations. Of the state's 92 counties, only 16 had any Japanese residents according to

the 1930 census. By 1970, Japanese lived in 90 Indiana counties, all except Benton and Ohio, with females outnumbering males in 73 of them.[9]

Table 6
Indiana Japanese and Chinese Population, by Race and Sex, 1940-90

YEAR	Japanese Total	Japanese Male	Japanese Female	Chinese Total	Chinese Male	Chinese Female
1940	29	21	8	208	169	39
1950	318	181	137	496	373	123
1960	1,093	442	651	952	621	331
1970	2,279	863	1,416	2,115	1,174	941
1980	2,361	868	1,493	3,986	2,101	1,885
1990	4,715	2,217	2,498	7,371	3,844	3,527

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Table 26, "Age and Sex for Selected Racial Groups: 1990," *1990 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics: Indiana* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 89.

Two factors contributed to the choice of destination, a choice that was made by (or, in some cases, for) the husbands. One was the presence of military installations in Indiana; the other was the desire to locate near families living in Indiana. Fort Benjamin Harrison plays a part in a number of stories told by Indianapolis-area Japanese wives. Beginning in September 1940, Fort Harrison Induction and Reception Center was expanded into a complex that by 1943 had become the largest facility of its kind, equipped with its own administration building, mess halls, theater, chapel, recreation hall, and post exchange (PX). The center inducted nearly 200,000 men into military service during World War II.[10]

Frances Ito, one of the Japanese American women interviewed for the present study, was an unusual case: she was both a resettler from the internment camps and also an Army wife. Her fiance, Ben Ito, was drafted in the early spring of 1942, before the

order was given to evacuate Japanese Americans from the West Coast. After basic training in Arkansas, Private Ito was assigned to Fort Harrison's Quartermaster Corps and drove a truck to the Indianapolis City Market each morning to buy produce for the PX. Frances Namba was evacuated from Portland, Oregon, where she and Ben had grown up, to Minidoka, an internment camp in Idaho, but in October 1942 her fiance got her a job as a housekeeper and babysitter in the home of an Army captain and his wife at Fort Harrison. She and Ben would spend each weekend together at a hotel in downtown Indianapolis, taking the bus back to the fort in time for work on Monday. According to Frances, several other Japanese American women came from different internment camps to join their fiances and were married at Fort Harrison. A number of them were also domestic workers for officers' families. As the war was coming to a conclusion, Ben Ito attended Fort Harrison's Medical Department Enlisted Technicians School, which trained soldiers to be medical, surgical, dental, laboratory, and X-ray technicians. He went on to become the proprietor of Ito and Koby, a large and successful dental lab in the Castleton area of Indianapolis.[11]

Fort Harrison declined in importance as the war ended; it was used as an Air Force base from 1948 to1950. In April 1950, however, the Army reacquired the post when mobilization activity due to the Korean War strained the ability of the Army Finance Center at St. Louis and the Adjutant General's Office at Camp Lee in Virginia to run schools for their trainees. These schools were established at Fort Harrison in 1951, and a new Army Finance Center was built there. At its completion in 1953 the Finance Center covered a million and a half square feet, forming a complex second in

size only to the Pentagon. Gates-Lord Hall, Fort Harrison's combined facility for the Finance and Adjutant General's Schools, was completed in 1957 at a cost of $4.4 million. Michiko Selby married an Army captain in Japan in 1963 and moved to Washington, D.C., but when her husband retired as a lieutenant colonel in 1973, they chose to settle in the vicinity of Fort Harrison, where his brother had been posted to the Adjutant General's School.[12]

The Army presence in central Indiana made it possible for soldiers to secure assignments near the homes of their parents and siblings, as revealed in the oral history interviews conducted for this study. In February 1952 Chieko Jacobs took the train across country from the port of Seattle with her husband and daughter to Detroit, where they stayed with her husband's sister. After one month, the Jacobses moved to Indianapolis where her husband's father and brother lived. For a time they lived in the brother-in-law's home at 27th and Capitol while the husband was posted first to Fort Harrison and then to Camp Atterbury. Tae Carter landed in Seattle in April 1952, then drove across country to Indianapolis with her husband and two other military couples, one of them headed for Fort Harrison. Tae and her husband, like the Jacobses, stayed with in-laws in the city; the Army then sent the husband to Oklahoma and later to Europe, but Tae remained with his family in Indianapolis.[13]

Both women have vivid memories of the Pacific crossing. Typically, the 14-day journey was made by ship. To this day the women express their dismay at being separated from their husbands at night; males and females slept on different levels of the ship, the children staying with their mothers. Few of the women could speak

English well. Tae traveled on a French ship, and the women had the added problem of ordering their dinners in French. At first they got only salads, which Japanese people do not eat, but after rejoining their husbands the next day, they were able to obtain sandwiches. Chieko's ship ("that whole boat was Japanese wives") had to remain in port for a few extra days before the travelers could disembark because one woman had come down with the measles.[14]

What did these women expect when they came to America? What challenges did they face, and how were their experiences different from the thousands of war brides coming to the United States during the same time period from Germany and Italy? Both the secondary sources and the oral history interviews offer much rich detail in answer to these questions.

The most crucial difficulty for the women was their inability to speak English well. In many cases, their education had been interrupted by the war. The transition from Japanese to English speech is a notoriously difficult one to make, due to nature of the languages and Japanese methods of teaching English conversation. After fifty years in an English-speaking environment, the women interviewed for this study still speak Japanese amongst themselves. As a result of their lack of proficiency in English, when they sought employment, the women often wound up in blue collar occupations (or, as Tae calls it, "the assembly line"). Indianapolis in the 1950s had a lot of these jobs to offer. Tae and Chieko both worked at RCA putting tubes into radios. Chieko started out doing piece work; after leaving RCA, she went on to jobs at Western Electric and Naval

Avionics, then later in one of Eli Lilly and Company's manufacturing facilities, where she worked from 1970 until she retired in 1992.[15]

Since Japanese women of the 1950s rarely knew how to drive cars, the wives had to learn to cope with public transportation. Tae's in-laws helped her learn to use the trolleys, still a part of the Indianapolis scene in 1952, as well as the bus lines. Another difficulty was getting Japanese food, an impossibility in Indiana at that time. They used mail order from Seattle and got packages from relatives in Japan, despite the shipping and preservation problems, and they sometimes went to Chicago to buy supplies. There was considerable excitement among the Japanese wives when the A&P on 38th Street began to carry short-grain rice, and they bought 10-15 boxes apiece, to the bemusement of store personnel.[16]

Many of the war brides were attracted to America by its promise of a better lifestyle, being, in the words of a character in Velina Hasu Houston's play about Japanese war brides, "tired of living in the Tokyo the Yankees left us with." Their chief ambition was to fit into the affluent world they saw in American movies. One of the extremely rare newspaper articles about Indiana's Japanese Americans that dates from the 1950s and 1960s depicts a Mrs. Edward E. Vince of Indianapolis. According to the article, she was working in Tokyo for the U.S. Armed Forces Radio Service as a secretary and married Mr. Vince. Her elder son, Arthur, was born in Japan in 1951 and named after General Douglas MacArthur. In typical pre-feminist fashion, the article does not tell us her given or birth family names. What it does show is a well-groomed

middle-class woman, dressed in a kimono, preparing sukiyaki in an electric skillet for her dinner guests. The caption reads, "Pretty as a Picture!"[17]

What happened to these thousands of Japanese women? William L. Worden investigated that question in a follow-up 1954 *Saturday Evening Post* article entitled "Where are Those Japanese War Brides?" He concluded that these former strangers on the docks of San Francisco or Seattle were working, shopping, driving automobiles, keeping house, and raising children all over America—"But as Japanese brides they've just disappeared." Anselm L. Strauss agreed; his sociological researchers interviewed hardly any suburban couples because they were "difficult to locate."[18]

Women from Japan who married Americans and became Hoosiers similarly dispersed and scattered throughout the state. Anne Shimomura Moore, who met her husband at Ball State University and moved to Kendallville, Indiana, when he got a job there in 1959, told of a Japanese war bride who lived in Noble County, somewhere near Rome City. Someone informed Anne that "there was this Japanese person" whose factory-worker husband had been in the Army and who had come back to Indiana with him. The two women met briefly, but did not have much in common, Anne being an English-speaking Nisei married to a teacher.[19]

This story points up the isolation that presented a serious challenge to Japanese women in Indiana and other parts of the country sparsely settled by Japanese Americans. Bok-Lim C. Kim, an associate professor in the School of Social Work at the University of Illinois, wrote about marriages between U.S. servicemen and Asian women, including those from Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. In a summary article

published in 1977, she observed that researchers in several studies had reported a lack of strong organizational, religious, and group affiliation for both husbands and wives. Kim attributed the scarcity of social contacts on the wife's side, in part, to lack of English proficiency, unfamiliarity with American life style, and inability to get around independently.[20]

A few of the Indianapolis area women did meet each other through their common connection with the Army. They helped each other learn how to get along in their new environment and joined informal clubs for Japanese wives. Some have remained friends to the present day. Those who lived in Indianapolis had the opportunity to tap community and neighborhood resources, and many had family ties through their husbands. Tae Carter's in-laws found an English language class offered at the central library where she had a friendly instructor and classmates not only from Japan but also war brides from Germany and Italy. Frances and Ben Ito joined a non-Japanese Christian church where they became staunch members. Faced with the choice of remaining in Indiana or returning to the Pacific Northwest where their children would have an opportunity to meet and marry someone of Japanese ancestry, they decided that their faith meant more to them and to their children's future than their ethnicity did.[21]

The 1952 article in *Ebony* magazine, "The Truth About Japanese War Brides," describes marriages between Japanese war brides and African American servicemen. Approximately 25 percent of the war bride marriages during the period from 1947 to 1952 involved non-Caucasians, primarily African Americans although Hispanic and

Asian Americans also served in Japan at that time. "GI's Married to Japanese Girls Stick Together," reads one feature from the war bride section of *Ebony*, describing these families as "a clannish lot" who "spend much of their spare time visiting with each other." In Indiana, the wives of Black soldiers, Chieko Jacobs and Tae Carter among them, often socialized with each other in much the same way. In 1952 the color line sharply limited the social circles of African American husbands and in-laws. Participating in Black society was sometimes an option; Tae speaks of accompanying her second husband to events sponsored by Kappa Alpha Psi, a Black fraternity.[22]

During the 1950s and 1960s the Japanese in Indiana kept a very low profile, hardly surprising given that their numbers remained below one-twentieth of 1 percent of the Hoosier population throughout this period. Occasionally, an opportunity to connect with Japan would arise, and local officials, casting about for a plan, would suddenly discover the Japanese living in their midst. When the City of Terre Haute was in the process of establishing a sister city relationship with Tajimi, Japan, for example, Mayor Ralph Tucker called upon a Japanese graduate student at what was then Indiana State College for assistance. The student, Yusuke Kataoka, acted as the mayor's interpreter, translated official communications from Tajimi, and facilitated a pen-pal program with the Vigo County School Corporation. He also gathered public reaction to the new relationship at the request of the *Tono Shimpo*, a Tajimi newspaper.[23]

The Terre Haute connection first began when Tomokichi Kondo, a ceramics businessman, was traveling in the United States and heard that Terre Haute was interested in forming a sister city relationship with a Japanese city. He contacted Mayor

Tucker and introduced him to the mayor of Tajimi. Terre Haute then hosted, and favorably impressed, a group of 30 representatives of Japan who were touring the United States in 1960, insuring its selection for the State Department-sponsored sister city program in 1962.[24]

The relationship was kept up over the years. In 1965 a delegation from Terre Haute, including Anton "Tony" Hulman, Jr., visited Tajimi. In October 1970 Tajimi Mayor Ryoichi Kato made an official visit to Terre Haute. In addition to Hulman and President John A. Logan of Rose Polytechnic Institute, his hosts included Rose Professor Terry Ishihara, an American of Japanese descent (as he was described by the *Tribune-Star*). Later exchanges involved students from Woodrow Wilson Junior High School, as well as a group of 18 Boy Scouts, college students, and business people from Tajimi. When the Terre Haute Area Chamber of Commerce treated this group to a pork chop dinner in August 1983, the interpreter for the evening was Toni Roach, a native of Japan and the wife of Rep. William Roach (D-West Terre Haute), who was also able to help with translations.[25]

In another incident, one that took place in 1985, Dan D. Theobald, the mayor of Shelbyville, Indiana, was facing the imminent arrival of a group of representatives from Ryobi Limited of Japan who were scouting for a midwestern location for an American-Japanese joint venture. Struck by a sudden inspiration, Theobald decided to call upon Shelbyville's Japanese American population to help welcome the visitors. With 20 minutes' warning, he was able to round up all four of these individuals: Mmes. Mariko Goforth, Seiko Gordon, Mariko Kreinhop, and Emiko Wildmone. The women were able

to give Shelbyville a glowing endorsement, in Japanese, and the delegation, duly impressed, selected Shelbyville as the location of the new Sheller-Ryobi plant. Mrs. Gordon and Mrs. Kreinhop were described as "natives of Japan who have lived in Shelbyville for many years" and whose children had graduated from Shelbyville schools.[26]

The total Japanese American population in Indiana more than tripled between 1950 and 1960, then about doubled between 1960 and 1970 to a count of 2,279 in the 1970 census. (See Table 6.) Statistics show that the war bride population in Indiana grew along with the national contingent, immigration figures reaching their peak in 1957 when 5,003 Japanese wives entered the country. Of these, 129 came directly to Indiana. As can be seen in Table 5, wives of U.S. citizens fell below 50 percent of the total number of immigrants from Japan only after the Immigration Act of 1965 radically changed the quota system.

America's bicentennial year, 1976, was a landmark for the Japanese American community in Indiana, as it was for many other ethnic communities. The city decided to celebrate with an International Festival, calling upon leading organizations to contribute their talents and recruit volunteers to put the event together. At that time Japanese Americans had informal clubs but no organizations with any official status. Nonetheless, they pooled their efforts to participate in the International Festival. Three Japanese American organizations began as a result of this endeavor.

Although they had no previous experience, the women from Japan were called upon to provide cultural entertainment for the festival. Under the leadership of Etsuko

Oba, they put together a demonstration of Japanese folk dance, an art form known as Minyo. Following the festival they decided to continue as a group and as a cultural resource for the city and state. After locating a rehearsal site at Eastgate Christian Church, they began to get together for weekly two-hour practices. In demand for performances at schools, nursing homes, hospitals, libraries, and organization meetings, the dancing troupe occasionally worked with teachers from Chicago and Japan. At one point in the 1980s, however, the members had a disagreement and split into two organizations, the Minyo Club of Indianapolis and the Indianapolis Minyo Dancers. The former organization was led by Betty Bunnell, a member of the original dance group, until her death. The latter group incorporated with Chieko Jacobs as president and Toshiko Buck as "sensei" (teacher and artistic director).[27]

The Japanese American community has a term for the immigrants who began arriving from Japan after World War II. They are called "Shin-Issei," meaning new Issei. The original "Issei" were the first generation of immigrants, the cohort having been completed when restrictive legislation cut off further Japanese immigration in 1924. Their children are the Nisei, whose children in turn are called "Sansei" or third generation. Many of the children being born now in the families founded by the original Issei are "Gosei," the fifth generation of Japanese in America.[28]

Most Sansei and many younger Nisei are unable to speak Japanese, which makes it difficult for them to socialize with either Shin-Issei or Japanese nationals living temporarily in the United States. In areas of the country where there are large groups of Japanese and Japanese Americans, it is common for those born in Japan and

those born in America to have separate organizations. Churches, for example, usually have English-speaking and Japanese-speaking divisions, each with its own ministers and services. In Indiana, however, the third group that came into being as a result of the Bicentennial, the Hoosier Japanese American Citizens League (to be discussed in the next chapter) rejected the idea of such a division in its tiny population. Although in other parts of the country the JACL is primarily a Nisei group that focuses on civil rights issues, leaders of the Hoosier JACL thought the organization should sponsor programs to serve the needs of women married to non-Japanese, that is, the war brides. One of the first presidents of the Hoosier JACL, William Alexander, was himself married to a woman from Japan, and early meetings of the Hoosier chapter were held at Fort Harrison's Civilian Club. Because the war brides were a significant segment of the Japanese American community in Indiana, the Hoosier JACL convinced the Midwest District Council of the organization to sponsor a seminar on interracial marriage in the late 1970s, a trend ahead of its time. In return the women acted as culture bearers and teachers to members of the ethnic community less familiar with Japanese traditions.[29]

In many ways the experience of this group of Japanese Americans is not unlike the classic pattern for all immigrants—leaving their homeland, coming to America (and Indiana), coping with difficulties in a new and strange environment, and eventually finding a place in the community. The tale of the Japanese war brides, however, lies at the intersection of three powerful categories of analysis in American social history: race, class, and gender. As women, they reformulated cultural traditions through "gendered divisions of labor" within their families and communities, as described by

Donna Gabaccia in her study of immigrant women in America. Caroline Chung Simpson argued that Japanese war brides were an early form of the Asian American "model minority," having successfully negotiated the transition from alien to hardworking middle-class housewife, thus "reaffirming the power of white middle-class domesticity." Assessing the impact of foreign spouses on U.S. society since the end of World War II, Michael C. Thornton pointed out that multiracial children and families constituted a major demographic trend in late twentieth-century America. He went on to say that "the presence of these unique families changes the nature of our understanding of race and racial differences." Each of the women interviewed for this study recounted her own version of the story, but the same set of circumstances made them Hoosiers. Through this curious dynamic of historical accident and human drama, the consequences of the World War II and the Occupation reached into every corner of America and of Indiana.[30]

[1] Richard Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 59.

[2] Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988; reprint, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 312 (page citations are to the reprint edition); Anselm L. Strauss, "Strain and Harmony in American-Japanese War-Bride Marriages," *Marriage and Family Living* 16 (1954): 99.

[3] *Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Year Ending 1947* (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, 1947), 1, and Tables 6 and 9.

[4] Daniels, *Asian America*, 306-307; *Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Year Ending 1952* (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, 1952), 20-1.

[5] Strauss, "Strain and Harmony," 99-106; Gerald J. Schnepp and Agnes Masako Yui, "Cultural and Marital Adjustment of Japanese War Brides," *American Journal of Sociology* 61 (1955): 48-50; Teresa K. Williams, "Marriage Between Japanese Women and U.S. Servicemen since World War II," *Amerasia Journal* 17 (1991): 148. Evelyn Nakano Glenn's book, *Issei, Nisei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), focused on the Japanese American community of northern California, a situation which had little in common with the midwestern experience.

[6] *Life*, November 5, 1951; *Look*, February 12, 1952; *Saturday Evening Post*, January 19, 1952, p. 27.

[7] Strauss, "Strain and Harmony," 99. Chieko Jacobs, one of the women interviewed for the current study, expressed her perception of the frustrating procedures, as follows: "Beginning to come '52 because U.S. government they have to sign for the marriage, you know, Japan. So we have to wait. We married in Japan for only Japanese wedding, but we can't come United States because . . . they had to sign for the Japanese people can get married. We have to wait because they don't have order, come we can do. They not satisfied for the government, we can't do. So, okay, 1949, anyway, '48, I married to him in Japan, but I can't come United States. Order came, you can come United States, can go United States after '52. That's why I came." Chieko Jacobs, interview by author, May 3, 2004. All oral history interviews conducted for this study will be deposited in the collection of the Center for the Study of History and Memory at Indiana University (Bloomington).

[8] Straus, "Strain and Harmony," 100; Chieko Jacobs interview; Tae Carter, interview by author, September 19, 2004; Michiko Selby, interview by author, October 6, 2003.

[9] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Table 17, "Indians, Chinese, and Japanese, 1910 to 1930, and Mexicans, 1930, for Counties and for Cities of 25,000 or More," *Reports on Population and Unemployment, Fifteenth Decennial Census: 1930*, Vol. 3, Part 1, Alabama-Missouri (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932), 720; Table 34, "Race by Sex, for Counties: 1970," U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of*

Population: 1970, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 16, Indiana (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), 156-8.

[10] Stephen E. Bower, *The American Army in the Heartland: A History of Fort Benjamin Harrison, 1903-1995* (Fort Benjamin Harrison, IN: Command History Office, US Army Soldier Support Center, 1995), 135-42.

[11] Frances Ito, interview by author, March 15, 2004.

[12] Bower, *American Army in the Heartland*, 192-203; Michiko Selby interview.

[13] Chieko Jacobs interview; Tae Carter interview.

[14] Tae Carter interview; Chieko Jacobs interview.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Tae Carter interview. Electric streetcars operated in Indianapolis until January 1953; they were replaced by trackless trolleys and buses. The city had 440 public transit vehicles in 1952, carrying 72 million passengers daily. Ralph D. Gray, "Transportation," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, ed. David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 195.

[17] Velina Hasu Houston, *Tea*, Plays in Process 9 (New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1985), 20-1; *Indianapolis News*, March 30, 1967. As background research for her play, Houston interviewed 50 Japanese war brides living in Kansas; her mother was one such woman.

[18] William L. Worden, "Where are Those Japanese War Brides?" *Saturday Evening Post*, November 20, 1954, p. 134; Strauss, "Strain and Harmony," 100.

[19] Anne Moore, interview by author, December 12, 2003.

[20] Bok-Lim C. Kim, "Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen: Women in Shadows," *Amerasia Journal* 4 (1977): 102-3.

[21] Tae Carter interview; Frances Ito interview.

[22] "The Truth About Japanese War Brides," *Ebony*, March 1952, p. 20; Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 163. One rather controversial scholar, Paul R. Spickard, suggests that African American husbands were more likely to have developed strategies for dealing with prejudice and identity questions, which they could teach their mixed-race children. *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 148.

[23] *Terre Haute [Sunday] Tribune-Star*, May 6, 1962.

[24] *Terre Haute Tribune-Star*, November 1, 1987; *Terre Haute Star*, October 15, 1970.

[25] *Terre Haute Star*, October 15, 1970; *Terre Haute Tribune-Star*, August 19, 1983.

[26] *Indianapolis Star*, March 31, 1986.

[27] *Indianapolis Star*, January 13, 1980; *Opening a Gateway: The Indianapolis Minyo Dancers*, prod. Beth Ann Waltz and Marco Dominguez, 23 min., WTBU/Butler University, 1996, videocassette.

[28] Stanford M. Lyman has written an excellent analysis of this nomenclature in *Color, Culture, Civilization: Race and Minority Issues in American Society* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1994), 287. He states: "With the possible

exception of the Koreans, the Japanese are the only immigrant group in America who specify by a linguistic term and characterize with a unique personality each generation of descendants from the original immigrant group."

[29] *Indianapolis News*, December 2, 1977; Tae Carter interview.

[30] Donna Gabaccia, *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, and Immigrant Life in the U.S., 1820-1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 131; Caroline Chung Simpson, *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945-1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 151, 183; Michael C. Thornton, "The Quiet Immigration: Foreign Spouses of U.S. Citizens, 1945-1985," in *Racially Mixed People in America*, ed. Maria P.P. Root (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1992), 75-6.

CHAPTER THREE

JAPANESE AMERICANS: RECRUITED

The total Japanese American population in Indiana tripled between 1950 and 1960, then doubled between 1960 and 1970 to a count of 2,279 in the 1970 census. (See Table 6 in Chapter 2.) By the early 1970s people began to think about forming ethnic organizations. They were trailblazers by Hoosier standards, but their ideas came from other midwestern communities and from their own previous experience.

In 1976 the U.S. Bicentennial provided the catalyst for the formation of two new Japanese American organizations in central Indiana: the Hoosier Chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and the Minyo dancers. Despite some overlap, the two could not have been more different in character, reflecting the diverse makeup of their members. Non-Asians may view Asian and Asian American groups in Indiana as either unified nationality organizations or a miscellaneous collection. In fact, these groups are formed along strict lines that reveal the political and cultural divisions within each nationality. For example, the Chinese have long had two main groups, the Indiana Association of Chinese Americans, whose members come primarily from mainland China and Hong Kong, and the Taiwanese American Association.[1]

In contrast to the Japan America Society of Indiana (to be discussed in the next chapter), whose members are primarily Japanese nationals and non-Japanese, the Japanese American Citizens League has been traditionally called a Nisei organization, that is, a group for people of Japanese ancestry who are native-born U.S. citizens. In fact, when the JACL parent organization was founded on the West Coast in 1929, some

of the organizers did not even want to include the word "Japanese" in the group's official name. With its motto of "For Better Americans in a Greater America," the JACL is therefore a civil and minority rights organization, as opposed to an international or nationality association.[2]

In 1975 a small group of Japanese American residents began exploring the possibility of forming an Indiana chapter of the JACL. The decision to found an organization that was affiliated with a branch of a national Japanese American organization grew out of their previous residence in other parts of the country and, in some cases, their prior experience with the JACL. The Rev. James Sugioka, for example, had been president of the San Benito (California) chapter of the JACL and was elected national secretary, a post he held at the outbreak of World War II. Those interviewed for this study agree, however, that the main organizer of the Indiana JACL chapter was Mary Sato, a civil service employee at Fort Benjamin Harrison. Her connection with Fort Harrison would have brought her into the sphere of the Japanese war bride population. She also knew Japanese Americans who worked at Eli Lilly and Company, a firm that had been hiring Asian American scientists and professionals since at least the 1920s.[3]

If it is true that the Hoosier State suffers from a "brain drain," it must also be noted that companies like Eli Lilly and institutions such as the state's universities create a "brain influx," attracting highly educated workers from around the nation and world to their knowledge factories. Interviewees often cited this factor as their primary reason for coming to live in Indiana. A typical pattern for several early leaders of the Hoosier

JACL involved growing up in a family that suffered dislocation as a result of the West Coast evacuation and internment, then picking up the threads of education, earning a graduate degree at a major university followed by employment or postdoctoral work, and moving to Indiana to take a job with Lilly.

One of the oral history interviewees for this study, George Umemura, was born in 1923 in Seattle where his parents had a mom-and-pop grocery store. He was attending the University of Washington when the war broke out, and he was taken with his family to Minidoka, an internment camp in Idaho. Through the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council (NJASRC), he was able to attend Ohio Wesleyan University. Umemura speculated that the NJASRC might have matched up his religious affiliation with that of Ohio Wesleyan; before the war, the Umemura family attended the Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church in Seattle. Unable to find employment after graduating from the university, he took the advice of a former professor who had accepted a teaching post at Indiana University and applied for graduate school there. After earning his M.B.A. and doctorate in business administration, and then spending some time as an instructor at I.U., Umemura finally found a job in New York City with The Conference Board, a business and economic research organization. There he met some executives from Eli Lilly and Company who recruited him to work for their firm. Being familiar with the state from his I.U. years, he accepted the job and moved with his wife, Jean, and their children to Indianapolis in 1957.[4]

Charles Matsumoto, another interviewee, was born in San Jose, California, in 1932. One of twelve brothers and sisters, he came from a farm background. His father

was a truck gardener who leased land in the name of his oldest son, a common practice among foreign-born Japanese since they were barred from owning land by California's alien land laws. The family lived in a community that had a large Japanese American population, making up nearly half the enrollment of the elementary school he attended. The Matsumotos opted to leave California rather than be evacuated; they relocated to Ault, Colorado, and again went into farming. Nine years old at the time, Charles Matsumoto was able to return to California after the war and finish out his schooling. He then earned degrees from San Jose State University and the University of Idaho before getting his doctorate in pharmacology from the University of Washington. After a two-year post-doctoral appointment at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, Matsumoto applied to several pharmaceutical companies and was hired by Eli Lilly and Company in 1965. He and his wife Mary moved to Indianapolis and took up residence on the south side of town. Matsumoto worked in Lilly's downtown research complex for 27 years, retiring in 1992.[5]

A third interviewee, George Hanasono, was born in San Francisco in March 1941. His family, a branch of the Sugioka clan, left the state when they learned that they were going to be interned, moving to Colorado before the government could evacuate them. After the war, the family returned to California. Hanasono attended UCLA, receiving his undergraduate degree in 1964, and then joined the U.S. Navy, serving from 1966 to 1969 at the Naval Medical Research Center in Bethesda, Maryland. In 1972 he completed his doctorate in pharmacology at the University of Iowa. After two years at the University of Montreal, where he had a postdoctoral fellowship, Hanasono

joined the toxicology division of Eli Lilly and Company, working at the laboratory in Greenfield, Indiana. Coming to Indiana in the 1970s, he found a number of Asian and Japanese Americans working for the company, especially at its downtown branch.[6]

In this era Eli Lilly and Company was, with respect to diversity, ahead of its time though not yet where it would be in the last decades of the twentieth century. As long ago as 1918, when it placed an employee in China, the company began to establish ties with Asia. In 1928 it became the first American pharmaceutical company to open a branch in China. Lilly established a Japanese branch in 1965, and by 1974 Japan had become Lilly's largest international market. About the time that it moved into the market in Asia, Eli Lilly and Company also began to hire Asian and Asian American scientists for its research staff. The interviewees for this study spoke of the leading role that had been played in the company by Dr. K.K. Chen, a native of China who joined the firm in 1929. Chen was particularly noteworthy in the field because he was a pharmacologist, rather than a chemist or other type of researcher. Nonetheless, by the time the interviewees retired from Lilly in the 1980s or 1990s, the company had progressed even farther in its diversity efforts, hiring ever-increasing numbers of professionals from minority groups, both Asian and African American. Some, such as Dr. August Watanabe, a Japanese American, even achieved positions in upper management. Watanabe left a faculty position at the Indiana University School of Medicine in 1990 to become Lilly's executive vice president of science and technology.[7]

All of these early Hoosier JACL leaders came to Indiana from major urban areas that were generally considered more cosmopolitan than Indianapolis. When asked about their initial impressions of Indianapolis, they responded with two observations. First, they were not very impressed with the city as a metropolis. Umemura, the earliest to arrive of the three interviewees, thought that Indiana in the 1950s was less populated, less industrialized, and less sophisticated than Ohio. Matsumoto, who arrived from the Washington, D.C., area in the mid-1960s, noted that there were only two tall buildings in the downtown area, the City-County Building and a bank building, in contrast to the larger cities where he had lived.[8]

Secondly, the interviewees remarked on the conditions for Asian Americans at the time of their arrival in Indiana. When asked about their memories of the ethnic community in the 1950s and 1960s, all of them noted the lack of ethnic organizations and commercial outlets, such as Asian groceries and Japanese restaurants. They also mentioned the relative scarcity of Asian Americans in those years when it was unusual to encounter other Japanese and Japanese Americans in the central Indiana area. Jean and George Umemura and Charles Matsumoto did remember Yoshitaka Takayoshi, who worked at a gas station at 38th and Meridian streets. According to George Umemura, Takayoshi came out of Minidoka, the same internment camp as the Umemuras and other people from the Seattle and Portland areas. Records indicate that Takayoshi, who was born in 1905, was hired at Lach's Texaco around 1944, making it likely that he was a participant in the World War II relocation program.[9]

It is significant that interviewees recalled scattered individuals, not an ethnic community *per se*. Justin Libby has pointed out that Japanese Americans, like other mid- and late-twentieth century immigrants and ethnic group members settling in Indianapolis, did not cluster in ethnic neighborhoods. The first membership roster of the Hoosier Chapter bears out this observation. The 31 addresses on the roster, representing a total of 54 members, are distributed into 14 different Indianapolis zip codes, plus Carmel, Franklin, New Palestine, and Terre Haute.[10]

Along with Mary Sato, Professor Terry Ishihara of Rose-Hulman University, and others, these employees from Lilly formed the core group that established the Hoosier Japanese American Citizens League. What did they hope to accomplish by starting an organization for Japanese Americans in Indiana? The oral history interviews shed light on their motives, some of which were clear at the outset and others of which emerged over time.

The first objective of the new group was simply to create a means of fostering social encounters among Japanese Americans. In the absence of institutions such as ethnic churches and neighborhoods, there was little occasion to get together with people of like ethnicity. Charles Matsumoto remarked that until the JACL was formed, there was really no venue for any social interactions with other Asians at all. The Matsumotos, like many other Japanese Americans in Indianapolis, were affiliated with religious and social organizations in the mainstream population; for example, they became members of a Lutheran church on the south side of Indianapolis.[11]

Second, the interviewees for this study talked about their hope that the organization would help to preserve a sense of ethnic heritage in their children. Hanasono pointed out that the war brides, who came from a Japanese environment but now lived in mixed marriages, often with a non-Japanese extended family, saw the new Japanese American organization as a means of incorporating ethnic art forms and traditions into the lives of their children in a group situation. To that end, the new Hoosier JACL leaders wanted to provide opportunities to practice their ethnic culture and lifestyles. Sharing home-cooked foods by gathering at pitch-in luncheons and dinners was clearly an important focus of Hoosier JACL meetings. These experiences were often arranged as part of a traditional occasion, such as a summer picnic or Christmas party, mimicking the style of pre-war West Coast Japanese American clubs and churches.[12]

The desire to foster ethnic culture gave added incentive to the Hoosier JACL's effort to combine two Japanese American groups that were divided by language. In the case of the Japanese war brides, the lack of English language skills kept them from adapting easily to their new life in America and going out into the community. In the case of the Nisei and the third-generation Sansei, the lack of Japanese language skills kept them from full access to the culture of their parents and grandparents, or at least so they perceived. Their inability to communicate with the immigrant generation, along with the familial disruptions and loss of material culture in the wake of the evacuation, caused a rupture in the transmission of Old World skills and customs. It was therefore difficult for the American-born Japanese to act as interpreters of Japanese culture to

other Hoosiers. Nonetheless, it was a role they were often asked to fulfill by the larger community, as, for example, in the city's efforts to recruit volunteers to assist with the 1976 International Festival. The solution lay in incorporating the women from Japan into the Hoosier JACL group.[13]

The role of cultural representative was an important one since the organizers of the JACL felt that a formal association could be a vehicle to educate the mainstream in Indiana, in other words, to enlighten the general public about Japanese culture and Japanese American issues. The need to do so was emphasized in the course of planning for activities surrounding the first International Festival, at a time when Hoosiers were beginning to notice the increasing diversity in their communities. Some JACL leaders, however, had long felt the desire to share elements of their heritage with their peers.

Jean (Kanno) Umemura, for example, came from a family that produced educators. Her maternal grandfather had been a school principal in Japan, where her mother was also a teacher. Before the war, the Kanno family lived in the Green Lake area, a suburb of Seattle, where Jean's parents had a dry cleaning business. She and her siblings grew up with Caucasian friends and neighbors, but the family worshipped at the Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church in Seattle. In 1942 Jean was in her junior year of high school. Just before the internment process began, her older sister, a student at the University of Washington, was able to transfer to Washington State University, which was in the eastern part of the state and therefore not affected by the evacuation orders. Later on during the war years, the sister, a violinist, attended a Baptist music camp in Wisconsin where she met a campus minister from Ann Arbor, Michigan. The

minister, Chester Loucks, facilitated Jean's sister's enrollment at the University of Michigan and then helped her parents to find jobs and an apartment in Ann Arbor, thus enabling them to leave Minidoka and relocate to Michigan. As Jean told the story in the interview, "So my father opted to go to Ann Arbor even though it was a strange place in the Midwest." Jean herself attended Michigan State Normal (now Eastern Michigan University) in Ypsilanti, and while in Michigan, she became reacquainted with George Umemura who had first met the Kanno family at the church in Seattle. After their marriage, Jean moved to Indiana with her husband, earned her master's degree, and taught at Allisonville School in Indianapolis' Washington Township for 30 years.[14]

The Umemuras and other Hoosier JACL organizers were enthusiastic about sharing Japanese culture with their fellow citizens. Dale N. Schroeder wrote in the first newsletter:

> The Hoosier Chapter of JACL will be a moving, vibrant organization that will epitomize those principles that make American Tradition and Japanese Heritage respected throughout the world . . . . We are located at the crossroads of America. What better place to show, in this our Bicentennial Year, that Japanese American citizens are fully involved in community activities.

These statements are significant because they emphasize the JACL's view of itself as a civil rights organization that functions within the system yet considers ethnicity to be a valid facet of American identity.[15]

The first meeting of the Hoosier Chapter of the JACL took place on January 24, 1976, at the Heritage House Smorgasbord in Indianapolis. The chapter was to be chartered as the 94th chapter of the national JACL and the 9th in the Midwest District, which was represented at the meeting by Tom Hibino, the JACL's Midwest Regional

Director. The Midwest District Council already included chapters in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Dayton, Detroit, Minneapolis-St. Paul, St. Louis, and Wisconsin, as well as a large chapter in Chicago, all areas where the War Relocation Authority had worked to place resettlers. These other chapters, however, had been formed during the period from 1945 to 1949; the Hoosier Chapter was the first new midwestern chapter in nearly three decades.[16]

The first board of directors of the Hoosier Chapter included 13 members. Four held Ph.D. degrees, two were clergymen; most were Nisei or Sansei. Officers included George Umemura, president; Terry Ishihara, vice president; the Rev. Masaichi Katayama, treasurer; and William Alexander (who later became the chapter's second president), historian. Four women served on this board: Mrs. Shigeko Tachiki, Mrs. Keiko Nolan, head of the Fujinkai (women's association), Mary Sato, and Alexander's wife, Yaeko Alexander.[17]

The initial meetings of the Hoosier Chapter were aimed at helping members and prospective members to become familiar with each other. Hence, the board planned a Let's Get Acquainted Dinner, a Family Pitch-In Dinner, and a Family Potluck Picnic for spring and summer of 1976, but it promised to diversify its agenda into "non-social" program areas in subsequent meetings. A survey of the membership showed that a majority favored engaging in activities that dealt with Japanese customs, heritage, and/or language. The chapter also immediately began to participate in regional and national JACL meetings and affairs, and it joined the Nationalities Council, a "sounding board and steering group" of the International Center of Indianapolis (ICI). The ICI

was in charge of two major events in 1976: the July 4th Bicentennial Jubilee in downtown Indianapolis and the International Bicentennial Festival, held October 7-10 at the Indiana State Fairgrounds.[18]

The new JACL chapter did not have the capacity to take on both events, so the board decided to forego the Bicentennial Jubilee and concentrate on the fall festival. In preparation for the International Festival, Keiko Nolan and Etsuko Oba formed a Japanese folk dance group, inviting women and men from the chapter to join. Other festival activities included mounting a cultural display booth—with demonstrations of Japanese ink painting (sumi-e), flower arrangement (ikebana), and tea ceremony (sadou)—and selling homemade teriyaki chicken as a fundraiser. After the event, the chapter celebrated its achievement with a pitch-in dinner in November featuring movies and snapshots of festival activities. The Hoosier JACL had been successfully launched.[19]

There are several useful sources in the scholarly literature on ethnicity that can help to explain and interpret the formation of the Hoosier JACL, for many classic themes of immigration history and ethnic studies are manifested in the Asian American experience in Indiana. Among these ideas are: the Hansen thesis, symbolic ethnicity, culture, and assimilation.[20]

The work of historian Marcus Lee Hansen stimulated a good deal of writing around what came to be known as the Hansen Thesis, or the principle of third generation return, articulated by Hansen in a speech to the Augustana Historical Society in Rock Island, Illinois, on May 15, 1937. Hansen himself called it the principle of

"third generation interest," explaining that "The theory is derived from the almost universal phenomenon that what the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember." Hansen said that the second generation of immigrants (i.e., the first American-born generation) was occupied with trying to escape its foreign roots and become fully American. Thus, they turned away from Old World language, religion, family customs, and physical reminders. George Umemura, one of the older Nisei interviewees, said of his youth: "Now talking about my life in Seattle growing up, I was so acutely aware of my Japanese face and wanted to be all red-white-and-blue American. And at high school I actually avoided associating with Niseis." Nonetheless, his social life and religious affiliation remained within the ethnic community.[21]

Hansen went on to say that, in contrast, the third generation, curious about its origins and lacking a sense of inferiority, was ready to recover the ethnic heritage abandoned by the previous generation. As proof of his thesis, Hansen pointed to the Scandinavian pioneer societies that were forming in the Midwest at the time of his Augustana speech—13 years after the Immigration Act of 1924 stemmed "the great historic westward tide of Europeans," as he put it. It was no accident, according to Hansen, that this rebirth of interest in ethnic heritage happened two generations after the peak period of Scandinavian immigration, which had occurred roughly 50 or 60 years before.[22]

Hansen's famous thesis is now viewed with skepticism, having been qualified and reassessed by other scholars, but his thinking on ethnicity had an impact on the field of immigration studies. Moses Rischin, for example, felt that Hansen's real

contribution was his vision of America as a nation defined by "the common thread of the immigration experience." Rischin explained the ethnic dimension of the American experience as the outcome of a human need to "simultaneously sustain larger and smaller identities." The third generation, according to this view, realized that it was not necessary to eradicate one's ethnic heritage in order to be a true American; the smaller identity could coexist with, and even contribute to, the larger identity.[23]

Certainly, another outcome of the Hansen thesis was to define American ethnic experience in terms of generations. A number of scholars have reflected on this key idea. Nathan Glazer, who raised Hansen's Augustana essay to prominence by reprinting it in a 1952 issue of *Commentary*, argued that since each generation is located within a specific time period, "the master experience connected to a generation will, for a period, shape the outlook of the ethnic group"—almost another thesis in itself. Glazer's formulation suggests that the history of an ethnic group can be traced by describing the unique experiences of each succeeding generation, especially inasmuch as immigration is itself influenced by key historical events. Another commentator on the Hansen thesis, Fred Matthews, also noted generational transitions, describing a progression from a "golden age of stratified belonging" that existed for the first and second generations to a state of "assimilation into commercial culture" in later generations of the ethnic group.[24]

In the national Japanese American community, the second, or Nisei, generation followed the pattern described by Hansen. With further immigration from Japan cut off by immigration laws in the 1920s, they turned away from their foreign heritage and

tried to adopt American culture as fully as possible. The traumatic events of World War II exacerbated this tendency, both through the loss of family heirlooms and through the Niseis' desire to be seen as loyal Americans and not as Japanese. Thus, it was not until another generation grew up and regained an interest in its historical and cultural ethnic heritage that the Japanese American community experienced a rebirth of ethnic consciousness during the late 1960s and 1970s. Naturally, much of this activity took place on the West Coast, the traditional "homeland" of Asian America, but its influence spread to other parts of the country through organizational networks.

Another area of scholarship revolves around the particular nature of the third generation's renewed interest in its ethnic background. Here, too, Hansen provided guidance. Ten days after his speech to the Augustana Historical Society, Hansen gave a second address at the National Conference of Social Work in Indianapolis (May 25, 1937). His talk was entitled "Who Shall Inherit America?" In this second speech, Hansen pointed out that when immigrants thought about the "old country," they tended to ignore politics and focus on "the customs, interests and pleasures that are grouped in the word, 'culture'."[25]

In recent years, scholars exploring the topic of "symbolic ethnicity" have reached a similar conclusion. Herbert J. Gans, writing in the 1970s, rejected the idea that America was then experiencing an ethnic revival. What he saw instead was a continuation of acculturation coupled with a new kind of interest in ethnic identity, which he described as "the feeling of being Jewish or Italian, etc." Gans argued that third- and fourth-generation ethnics resorted to the use of ethnic cultural symbols as an

infrequent and optional means of identification with the ethnic group, replacing the day-to-day relationships experienced by their parents and grandparents in the old ethnic neighborhoods and organizations.[26]

In their 1991 book, *The Japanese American Experience*, David J. O'Brien and Stephen S. Fugita observed, "In recent years, in some areas of the country, there has been a revival of Japanese American ethnic associations that focus on traditional Japanese cultural content." They thus agreed with Gans that ethnicity, defined in this way, becomes part of personal identity and private observance, as contrasted with the older model of group involvement in a physical community or neighborhood. O'Brien and Fugita researched not only the quality but also the quantity of Japanese American participation in voluntary associations, making several observations specific to Japanese Americans living in areas where the ethnic population was relatively low. They concluded that people in these circumstances were more likely to interact with Caucasians but no less likely to maintain membership in ethnic associations. In such areas, according to O'Brien and Fugita, they will "make an extra effort to create formal organizations to maintain ethnic community ties."[27]

Another scholar, Harry H.L. Kitano, identified a spectrum of ways in which the third generation chooses to participate in ethnic associations. There are both Japanese American and pan-Asian political and professional associations, the latter in specialized fields such as law, psychology, and social work. People in areas with a large Japanese American population can still use businesses and services that are a carryover from the pre-war era, such as ethnic funeral homes. At the other end of the spectrum are Japanese

Americans who choose to acculturate completely, abandoning even the symbolic aspects of ethnic identity. Finally, there are some who follow a bi-cultural model, comfortable in American culture, but interested in Japanese history and culture.[28]

In *Tradition and Change in Three Generations of Japanese Americans*, John W. Connor also wrote about the pattern of acculturation for succeeding generations of Japanese Americans. Like all the other scholars, he described the transition made by the Nisei from residence in a Japanese community—the Seattle of the Umemuras, the farming community of Charles Matsumoto—through the World War II experience of relocation to a more integrated life in the wider society. Despite these unusual historical circumstances, the pattern of acculturation was not unlike that described by Hansen and Gans, that is, toward a form of symbolic ethnicity with a focus on culture. Connor explained this pattern in more specific terms: "The identity will be maintained symbolically by eating Japanese food, the possession of family heirlooms and art objects from Japan, and will be reinforced by religious practices and occasional trips to Japan." All of these ways of maintaining an ethnic identity were mentioned by those interviewed for this study.[29]

The question of acculturation leads to the question of assimilation. A very recent work of scholarship, Richard Alba and Victor Nee's *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*, revisits the classic formulations of assimilation theory put forward by Robert Park and the Chicago School of Sociology in the 1920s and Milton Gordon's "canonical synthesis" in *Assimilation in American Life* (1964). It then takes a path-breaking look at Japanese Americans from

quite a new angle. Alba and Nee in effect propose a category of analysis that has not previously been applied to third- and fourth-generation Japanese Americans—"later generation Asian ethnics." This term recognizes the fact that the Chinese and Japanese immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were chronologically part of the "second wave" of American immigration that included southern and eastern Europeans. As such, their pattern of assimilation can be seen in the light of broader historical trends in the mid-twentieth century that affected all these ethnic groups, such as social mobility—or as Alba and Nee call it, "structural mobility"—facilitated by the expansion of higher education, the technical/professional occupations, and the suburbs in the post-World War II era. Alba and Nee claim that these historical forces also served to break the pattern of confinement to ethnic neighborhoods and traditional occupations among immigrant groups contemporary with Chinese and Japanese Americans, such as Italian Americans.[30]

Timing was an important factor in the ability of Nisei to move out of the ethnic economy and into the mainstream economy. George Umemura spoke about occupational barriers that still existed in the Seattle of his youth. Before the war, college-educated Nisei were often unable to find employment in their chosen professions; it was common for lawyers and teachers, for example, to give up the job hunt and return to the family business, perhaps a small market or nursery. In the booming economy after the war, however, as Alba and Nee point out, the color line broke down, and Japanese Americans moved into the professions, as shown in the oral

histories for this study. The Japanese ethnic economy never recovered its pre-war vigor, and the Little Tokyos changed from ethnic neighborhoods to tourist traps.[31]

Despite the early focus on cultural activities, festival participation, and fund raising, the Hoosier JACL board had not forgotten its commitment to delve into more substantive issues and concerns of the Japanese American populace, including those linked to the themes of assimilation and cultural negotiation. In 1977 the Hoosier Chapter challenged the JACL's Midwest District Council (MDC) Governor Lillian Kimura to address the question of programming for intermarried members, especially "Caucasian American men with wives born and raised in Japan." In a letter reprinted in the August 1977 issue of the chapter's newsletter, Kimura responded that the MDC had asked the Cincinnati Chapter to convene a committee with representatives from the Cincinnati, Dayton, and Hoosier chapters to consider this issue. She went on to suggest that the group under discussion be broadened to include "children of such marriages, interethnic union [probably marriages with non-Japanese Asians], Niseis/Sanseis who have married non-Japanese, and American women married to Japanese nationals." Kimura also made the point that the nine Midwest District Councils, "from their very inception over thirty years ago" (i.e., immediately after World War II), had had the participation of intermarried couples, many in leadership roles.[32]

From a historian's point of view, it is interesting to note that the Midwest was, for once, on the cutting edge of a hot ethnic topic, one which did not gain national recognition until the 1990s when an outmarriage rate that had exceeded 60 percent began to affect the Japanese American population as a whole. The Cincinnati

committee planned a workshop, held on August 26, 1978, to consider the needs and interests of interracial families. Lida Fukumura (Cincinnati Chapter) and Bill Alexander (Hoosier Chapter) sent a letter of invitation wherein the rationale for the workshop was explained as follows:

> It has been said that the Midwest JACL is unique. It can be distinguished from National in many respects. One manifestation of this difference may be found in the relative composition of membership at the local chapter level in such areas as proportion of interracial marriages, number of post WWII immigrants vis-à-vis the Issei/Nisei/Sansei categories, number of non-Nikkei members, etc. Such uniqueness has prompted this exploration of who we are, what our special needs [are], and how they are being met.

In addition to language barriers, social and cultural needs, and racial discrimination, the workshop agenda included topics of special interest to midwestern JACL members: acceptance or recognition of Japanese Americans in their communities as Americans and concerns for children of interracial marriages.[33]

The oral histories reveal the inside story of the interracial workshop. It was not only a strategy for serving the organization's membership but also a way of demonstrating inclusiveness to the non-Nisei members. George Hanasono said in his interview:

> There were a number of women, Japanese women, who were born in Japan and came to the United States at a young age after having married Caucasian servicemen, and so they represented a slightly different population of Japanese Americans in the sense that they had grown up in Japan and came to this country subsequently. Their outlook, their language, their comfort zone in languages were different, their cultural styles were different. So it was interesting to have a membership subgroup who had backgrounds different from that of the Japanese Americans who were born in this country and grew up in an American culture.

Realizing that the needs and interests of the foreign-born Japanese members and their spouses differed from those of the Nisei (the national JACL's core membership), Hanasono championed their cause. "He fought for us," said Tae Carter, in her interview. As Hanasono remembered it:

> One of the objectives was to recognize that the JACL membership, particularly in the Midwest, wasn't the stereotyped Japanese American organization that you would find, let's say, on the West Coast which is populated primarily by Niseis and Sanseis, where you have racial homogeneity. But here we have an interracial membership, and it predominated not only in our chapter but I think formed a large part of almost all the Midwest chapters. So it was something that I think we had to bring attention to because I think national JACL did not recognize that particular subject matter, at least to the extent that it was giving [it] attention. So we brought about a movement in the Midwest area to recognize that, to discuss some of the problems that these Japanese women had in terms of their acculturalization, in coming into American culture, and the fact that they would be raising children of biracial background.[34]

The next challenge taken up by the young organization was the campaign for Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week (APAHW). On October 5, 1978, the 95th Congress adopted a Joint Resolution (HJR-1007) proclaiming the first week in May "Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week." May was selected because of two significant dates in history: the arrival of the first Japanese immigrants in the U.S. on May 7, 1843, and the driving of the "golden spike" on May 10, 1869, a date symbolizing the contribution of Chinese laborers to the building of the transcontinental railroad. In March 1979 the Hoosier Chapter received a memorandum from J.D. Hokoyama, JACL associate national director, urging that each chapter participate in APAHW with appropriate activities and events.[35]

Under the leadership of Legislative Chairman George Hanasono, the Hoosier Chapter organized a campaign to have Governor Otis R. Bowen and Indianapolis Mayor William H. Hudnut III issue official proclamations designating May 4-10, 1979, as Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week. Hanasono began by contacting six other Asian groups that belonged to the Nationalities Council and enlisting their support. Alfred Tsang, the president of the Indianapolis Association of Chinese Americans (IACA), was at that time also vice president of the Nationalities Council and as such was able to get Hanasono appointed chairman of an ad hoc committee of the International Center of Indianapolis (called the Asian/Pacific American Heritage Committee), hence ensuring the endorsement of the ICI. A successful letter-writing campaign by all these organizations quickly secured the gubernatorial and mayoral proclamations.[36]

The Hoosier Chapter found itself in a leadership position with respect to the APAHW campaign and became a conduit of information because in 1979 it was the only Indiana Asian American group with national ties. The IACA was not then affiliated with the Organization of Chinese Americans, which is the parallel national organization to the JACL. Hanasono's pan-Asian approach to the APAHW campaign was suggested, of course, by the Congressional Resolution itself; the concept was to celebrate *Asian/Pacific* American Heritage Week, not *Japanese* American Heritage Week. But a comparison of the sample resolution distributed by the national JACL with the proclamation drafts that Hanasono submitted to the mayor's and governor's offices, both of which were accepted verbatim, shows that he changed the emphasis of

the proposed proclamation from a commemoration of Japanese American history to a much more inclusive view of how Asian/Pacific Americans had contributed to the "growth and progress" of the city and state through "their pursuit of education, their industry and enterprise."[37]

William Wei, a historian who has written about Asian Americans in the late 1960s and 1970s, traced the course of the "Asian American Movement," a multidimensional political phenomenon that grew out of the ferment of the 1960s. In his analysis, Wei drew together the threads of the movement: the search for ethnic identity and the creation of an Asian American culture, the women's movement, the alternative press, the development of Asian American studies programs in universities, community-based organizations, Maoist organizations, and entrance into electoral politics. His thesis was that these elements form a coherent phenomenon—a movement—constituting a new era in Asian American history. In Wei's view, the movement was dominated by middle-class second- and third-generation Chinese and Japanese Americans, that is, Alba and Nee's "later generation Asian ethnics." A reform movement for racial equality, social justice, and political empowerment, it was a national phenomenon though focused on the West and East Coast geographic enclaves of the Asian American population. Wei believed that the Asian American movement was stimulated by the Black Power movement and by the accusations of anti-Asian racism that were part of the Vietnam War protest.[38]

In this atmosphere of heightened civil rights awareness, Japanese Americans began to reconsider the Internment experience, which led to a third issue taken on by

the Hoosier Chapter. Delegates to the national JACL convention of June 1976 in Sacramento, California—the very convention at which the Hoosier Chapter formally received its charter—voted to adopt a resolution calling for monetary reparations to be paid to World War II internees. The national JACL, however, spent the next two or three years planning, recruiting leaders, and taking surveys of its membership before launching a full campaign for Redress in 1979. This movement was led by members of the third, or Sansei, generation, who organized the National Coalition for Redress and Reparation, a grassroots coalition.[39]

On March 16 and 17, 1979, the Detroit JACL chapter sponsored a Midwest District Council Redress Conference, held on the campuses of the University of Michigan and Wayne State University. The keynote speaker was U.S. Representative Norman Mineta from California's 13th Congressional District. "Civil liberties," he told the delegates, including Charles Matsumoto and George Hanasono from the Hoosier Chapter, "do not sustain themselves." The Hoosier Chapter decided to ask John Tateishi, chairman of the JACL National Committee for Redress, to speak in Indiana. Tateishi spoke at the Warren Branch of the Indianapolis-Marion County Public Library on January 18, 1980, and at about this time the Hoosier Chapter formed a Redress Committee that began making regular reports at chapter board meetings. Tateishi asked the chapter to participate in the Redress campaign by educating their communities on the issues, eliciting endorsements from other human rights organizations, and raising funds. The chapter's vice president, Lieutenant Colonel Norman D. Selby, sent a letter to U.S. Representative David W. Evans asking that a flag be flown over the United

States Capitol on February 19, 1980, on the 38th anniversary of the signing of Executive Order 9066 (the internment order), and that the flag be sent to the Hoosier Chapter to be used in observances and educational programs. Representative Evans fulfilled this request.[40]

Japanese Americans in Congress, led by Senator Daniel Inouye, advised the national JACL to call for a commission to investigate the circumstances of the internment before trying to get Redress legislation through the Congress, a strategy that ultimately proved very effective. In August 1979 George Hanasono, as the Hoosier Chapter's legislative chairman, sent a letter to its members urging them to write to their congressmen in support of such a measure. The following year a bill to form the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) passed the House and the Senate and was signed into law by President Jimmy Carter on July 31, 1980. The CWRIC spent several months getting organized, and in July 1981 began its hearings, which continued through December in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, New York, Boston, and three cities in Alaska.[41]

The Commission hearings brought the issue of Redress to the attention of the press throughout the nation, and Indianapolis was no exception. On July 17, 1981, the *Star* carried an AP wire story which it headlined "Japanese-Americans want cash for internment," reviewing the testimony of witnesses before the commission in Washington, D.C. By July 19, however, *Star* reporter Thomas Leyden had managed to find two Hoosiers who were internees, George and Jean Umemura, both relocated from Seattle to Minidoka, the internment camp in Idaho. This time, though, the *Star* headline

read, "Internment 'veterans' shun idea of reparations." According to Leyden, Jean had said that she doubted the wisdom of paying millions of dollars to internees during troubled economic times, mainly for fear of rekindling prejudices against Japanese Americans.[42]

Jean Umemura's comments could not have been popular with the Hoosier Chapter's Redress Committee chair, Shirley Nakatsukasa. Her committee had been working hard, and, as reported in the chapter's newsletter, had "done a phenomenal job, under Shirley's determined, aggressive leadership." The MDC had outlined a five-point approach for the campaign: fundraising, witness identification, resolutions from governmental bodies, organizational endorsements, and media contact. Indiana could count successes in three of these areas: the chapter had raised over $1,500 for the cause, three people had agreed to serve as witnesses (Terry and Simi Ishihara of Terre Haute and Constance Yasuda of Bloomington), and endorsements had been secured from the Indiana Interreligious Commission on Human Equality and the Urban League. Media contact had been a mixed blessing, yet Leyden's article did review the facts of the relocation and internment and tell the Umemuras' poignant stories.[43]

Reviewing the facts was an important initial step. Hanasono and Matsumoto both pointed out in their oral history interviews that the redress movement was not taught in schools at that time, and it was not well understood even by Hoosier JACL members except for the Nisei and Sansei. The first objective of the redress campaign was, in fact, to raise the level of awareness about the Internment in the general population, which included the Japanese war brides and non-Japanese, such as their

spouses. In his oral history interview, Hanasono described redress as "something to point the arrow of history toward," reflecting the firm belief among many Japanese Americans that the Internment falls under Santayana's dictum—those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.[44]

The chapter's attempt to gain a resolution from a governmental body, on the other hand, led to one of the most startling and dramatic episodes in its history. Matters came to a head in a heated confrontation between Shirley Nakatsukasa and Don E. Christensen, a member of the Indianapolis-Marion County Human Rights Commission. After weeks of debate on whether the commission would hear an address from the JACL, Nakatsukasa was given ten minutes to speak before the commissioners at a meeting on September 17, 1981. In an attempt to keep her from speaking, Christensen sought to adjourn the meeting, but his motion failed for lack of a second. He then held aloft a copy of the December 7, 1941, *Honolulu Bulletin* and asked, "Is it any wonder that people at this time considered them an enemy?" He followed up this question by arguing that the internment was done to protect Japanese Americans from harm and added that if Mexico were to invade the U.S., Mexican Americans might be justifiably interned. Others present, including several commission members, felt that Nakatsukasa should be heard, whether or not the commission had any jurisdiction over the grievance, and Barta Hapgood Monro, representing the National Conference of Christians and Jews, charged that arguments against hearing the JACL's presentation were based on racism. Nakatsukasa was finally allowed to speak, and she certainly got media coverage, for the *Star* reported the entire incident under the headline, "Dark part of U.S.

history is aired." The Hoosier Chapter later complained to Mayor Hudnut about Christensen's behavior, but the mayor replied that any member of the commission had a right to express his views.[45]

George Hanasono remembers the redress campaign in Indiana as a series of moderate successes. There was very little media attention to the story at first. Hanasono said that a reporter at the *Indianapolis Star*, Josh Littman, was interested in the campaign and took up the cause, but his editor was not so enthusiastic. Hanasono also remembered meeting with an aide of Senator Richard Lugar. The aide was not able to give much time to discussing the issue, which disappointed the Hoosier JACL delegation, yet it eventually turned out that Senator Lugar supported redress.[46]

Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week and the Redress campaign were enterprises that began on the national level, yet a distinct Hoosier dimension developed in each instance. The somewhat amazing conclusion is that Indiana does have its own Asian American history, even in the area of civil rights and minority issues. In the case of the interracial marriage workshop, it might even be said that Indiana led the way for the nation.

One last topic that emerged in the oral history interviews—anti-Asian prejudice and discrimination—has been a traditional concern of national and state Asian American organizations. All of the interviewees said that their experience in Indiana included incidents of racism but that these were rare. This is the same finding reported by the War Relocation Authority and by scholars, such as Charlotte Brooks, who have studied Japanese Americans in the Midwest. For example, Charles Matsumoto's family

woke up one morning to find their house and windows chalked up with phrases such as "Jap, why don't you go back where you came from?" Anne Moore, who arrived in Muncie from New Jersey in the early 1950s, was shocked by signs in the restaurants reserving the right to refuse entrance to people of other races. She once went into a dress shop, and the sales clerk would not let her try on the clothes. She remembered thinking to herself, "I didn't know that Indiana was part of Dixie."[47]

The discrimination that the oral history interviewees encountered challenges the theory that Japanese Americans were able to assimilate fully into American society. Rather, the negative experiences that they described point to a syndrome which the sociologist Mia Tuan has termed "forever foreigner," arguing that racial stereotypes limit how Asian Americans can choose to identify themselves. Hence, concern with the issue of hate crimes and nativism remains a theme in the civil rights agenda of the national Japanese American Citizens League. Yet ironically, as Alba and Nee show, in recent years the rate of outmarriage in the Japanese American community, which was nearly 70 percent among 25- to 35-year-olds at the time of the 1990 census, combined with the relative absence of new immigration from Japan, has begun literally to change the face of the ethnic population, putting it "on the road to amalgamation with whites."[48]

Charles Matsumoto thinks that Japanese Americans who move to Indiana are different from the average Japanese American who stays in the comfortable surroundings of the West Coast. As he put it, "We got up and left the womb." The ethnic community of his youth harks back to an image now growing dim even in

Japan—the village of farmers gathering for a New Year's celebration, or "mochitsuki," around the ceremonial pounding of rice in a hollowed out log with a wooden mallet. Equally traditional are the Japanese American churches remembered by the Umemuras and Anne Moore, and the ethnic stores, clubs, movie theaters, and Boy Scout troops that George Hanasono frequented as he was growing up in Los Angeles.[49]

Some of these elements have indeed carried over to an Indiana version. The Hoosier JACL continues to hold yearly Shin-nen-kai (New Year's gatherings) where mochi are prepared and eaten communally; however, as in modern Japan, they are now made in electric home appliances that cook and pound the rice. It is no longer necessary to drive to Chicago or Cincinnati to eat in a Japanese restaurant or to buy ethnic grocery items, and NHK broadcasts from Japan are available by satellite in Indiana.

Clearly, the post-World War II migration of Japanese Americans from other parts of the country to Indiana has been driven by jobs. Charles Matsumoto observed that if you are a gardener (a traditional Japanese American working-class occupation in California), you are not going to move to a cold climate region like the Midwest. Rather, it is people in his type of profession or similar occupations who look for and find employment in Indiana. When these Niseis and Sanseis came to Indiana, they brought with them the background and connections that led them to form the Hoosier Chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League. The Hoosier JACL quickly became a cornerstone of the Japanese American community in the state.[50]

[1] Susan McKee, "Nationalities Council of Indiana, Inc.," February 24, 2002, <http://www.klingon.cs.iupui.edu/~smckee/nci.html> (March 22, 2002).

[2] Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1969), 197-8; "About the Japanese American Citizens League," 2002, <http://www.jacl.org/about.html> (March 22, 2002).

[3] Indiana Humanities Council, "ASIA IN US: The Business Dimension," December 3, 1998, <http://web.archive.org/web/19981203100056/www.ihc4u.org/asiabus.htm> (December 12, 2004).

[4] George Umemura, interview by author, September 25, 2003. All oral history interviews conducted for this study will be deposited in the collection of the Center for the Study of History and Memory at Indiana University (Bloomington).

[5] Charles Matsumoto, interview by author, January 14, 2004.

[6] George Hanasono, interview by author, December 3, 2003. The story of the family's journey to Colorado has already been recounted in connection with James Sugioka, George Hanasono's maternal uncle (see Chapter 1, note 26).

[7] "ASIA IN US: The Business Dimension." George Hanasono said in his interview, "I think there was a general move to bring in more minorities, particularly into senior research positions and in management. And I think that has been a continuing process, at least throughout my entire career there."

[8] George Umemura interview; Charles Matsumoto interview.

[9] "Social Security Death Index," <http://Ancestry.com> (December 16, 2004); "Yoshitaka Takayoshi" (obituary), *Indianapolis Star*, January 19, 1993.

[10] Justin Libby, "Japanese," in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, ed. Robert M. Taylor, Jr., and Connie A. McBirney (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 309; *The Hoosier JACL Newsletter* 1 (June 1976), Hoosier Chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League papers, in possession of the author, Indianapolis (hereafter "Hoosier JACL papers"). All copies of *The Hoosier JACL Newsletter* (the newsletter of the Hoosier Chapter, renamed *Bamboo Heritage* beginning with the April 1977 issue) that are referenced herein are in the Hoosier JACL papers.

[11] Charles Matsumoto interview. Because of their upbringing in Japanese Christian churches, such as the Disciples church in Los Angeles described in Chapter 1, Nisei and Sansei of that faith often join Christian congregations wherever they live. In Indiana, these churches are generally not ethnic but rather mainstream denominations, the majority of whose members are white. Charles Matsumoto was later recruited by his church (the Lutheran Church in America) to participate on national level councils as a representative of the church's very limited Asian membership.

[12] George Hanasono interview.

[13] Jean Umemura, interview by author, September 25, 2003.

[14] Jean Umemura interview. Because Jean and George Umemura are among the few Hoosier Japanese Americans old enough to remember the internment camps, they are often asked to share their story with high school students who are studying World

War II. This experience may be one reason that Jean was willing to record an oral history interview while several other wives of Hoosier JACL leaders declined the invitation.

[15] *The Hoosier JACL Newsletter* 1 (Mar. 1976).

[16] *JACL Midwest District Council Board Member's Handbook*, July 1997, Hoosier JACL papers.

[17] *The Hoosier JACL Newsletter* 1 (Mar. 1976); *The Hoosier JACL Newsletter* 1 (June, 1976).

[18] *The Hoosier JACL Newsletter* 1 (June 1976).

[19] *The Hoosier JACL Newsletter* 1 (Nov. 1976).

[20] As has been the case with research on Japanese Americans throughout the twentieth century, these sources span the fields of history, sociology, and anthropology.

[21] Marcus Lee Hansen, "The Problem of the Third Generation," in *American Immigrants and Their Generations: Studies and Commentaries on the Hansen Thesis after Fifty Years*, ed. Peter Kivisto and Dag Blanck (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 195; George Umemura interview.

[22] Hansen, "The Problem of the Third Generation," 192-5. Hansen also referenced the frontier thesis as a reason for the recent contemporary interest in the interior of the country, as opposed to the historical community's traditional focus on the eastern seaboard. His own research, for example, focused on pioneer and historical societies in the Midwest, not only Scandinavian but also German and Scotch-Irish.

[23] William Toll, review of *American Immigrants and Their Generations* in *Journal of American History* 78 (June 1991): 348-9; Moses Rischin, "Just Call Me John: Ethnicity as *Mentalité*," in *American Immigrants and Their Generations*, 76, 78.

[24] Nathan Glazer, "Hansen's Hypothesis and the Historical Experience of Generations," in *American Immigrants and Their Generations*, 111; Fred Matthews, "Paradigm Changes in Interpretations of Ethnicity, 1930-80: From Process to Structure," in *American Immigrants and Their Generations*, 181.

[25] Marcus Lee Hansen, "Who Shall Inherit America?" in *American Immigrants and Their Generations*, 205.

[26] Herbert J. Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America," in *On the Making of Americans: Essays in Honor of David Riesman*, ed. Herbert J. Gans, Nathan Glazer, Joseph R. Gusfield, and Christopher Jencks (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 202.

[27] David J. O'Brien and Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese American Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 116, 124.

[28] Harry H.L. Kitano, *Generations and Identity: The Japanese American* (Needham Heights, MA: Ginn Press, 1993), 201-2.

[29] John W. Connor, *Tradition and Change in Three Generations of Japanese Americans* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977), 316.

[30] Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 18-27, 98, 105, 52.

[31] George Umemura interview; Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 233-4.

[32] *Bamboo Heritage* 2 (Aug., 1977).

[33] Harry H.L. Kitano and Roger Daniels, *Asian Americans: Emerging Minorities*, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995), 187-8; Lida Fukumura and Bill Alexander to MDC Chapter Presidents and Board Members and to MDC Staff, Letter [photocopy], [1978], Hoosier JACL papers. "Nikkei" is a general term meaning Americans of Japanese ancestry, regardless of generation. The August 1978 issue of *Bamboo Heritage* carried an announcement of the workshop in English, the usual language of the newsletter, and beside it a rare handwritten translation in Japanese. The title of the workshop in English is "Interracial Marriage Workshop," but the term used in Japanese is "kokusai kekkon," meaning "international marriage," which would of course be the case for Japanese-speaking readers. Tipton, Indiana, native William Alexander, who co-chaired the workshop, was married to Yaeko Alexander, who came to Indiana from Yokohama in 1958 (*Indianapolis News*, December 2, 1977).

[34] George Hanasono and Tae Carter interviews.

[35] J.D. Hokoyama to Chapter Presidents, District Governors, Regional Directors, NYCC Board, "Asian/Pacific Heritage Week," Memorandum, March 5, 1979, Hoosier JACL papers.

[36] *Bamboo Heritage* 4 (June 1979); George K. Hanasono to Alfred Tsang, Dorothy Alfonso (Philippine American National Association), Yun Song (Korean Society), Victor Chiu (Chinese Association of Indiana), Felixberto Garcia (Barangue Club of

Indianapolis), Hoe Ngu Yen Xuan (Vietnamese and Friends Association), 6 letters [photocopies], March 30, 1979, Hoosier JACL papers; Alfred K.B. Tsang to George K. Hanasono, Letter [photocopy], April 3, 1979, Hoosier JACL papers.

[37] "Sample Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week Resolution," enclosure to Hokoyama memorandum, March 5, 1979; George K. Hanasono to Governor Otis R. Bowen and to Mayor William H. Hudnut III, 2 letters and enclosures ("Proposed Draft for the Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week Proclamation") [photocopies], April 9, 1979, Hoosier JACL papers. While the documentary evidence, including many letters and memoranda sent over Hanasono's signature indicates that he was the main coordinator of the APAHW initiative, Hanasono himself said in his oral history interview that Shirley Nakatsukasa and others were more instrumental in working with the mayor's office. A photograph in the Hoosier JACL archives does show the mayor signing the proclamation, with Shirley Nakatsukasa prominently posed with him in the center of this photograph.

[38] William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1993).

[39] Mitchell T. Maki, Harry H. L. Kitano, and S. Megan Berthold, *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 75, 79; Philip S. Foner and Daniel Rosenberg, eds., *Racism, Dissent, and Asian Americans from 1850 to the Present: A Documentary History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 298.

[40] *Bamboo Heritage* 4 (Apr., 1979); *Bamboo Heritage* 5 (Jan.-Feb. 1980); Redress Committee Report in Secretary's Book 1976-80, February 10, 1980, Hoosier JACL papers; Norman D. Selby to David W. Evans, Letter [photocopy], January 26, 1980, Hoosier JACL papers.

[41] Maki, et al., *Achieving the Impossible Dream*, 86, 99; George Hanasono to Hoosier JACL Chapter Members and Friends, Letter [photocopy], August 21, 1979, Hoosier JACL papers.

[42] *Indianapolis Star*, July 17, 19, 1981.

[43] *Bamboo Heritage* 6 (June-July 1981).

[44] George Hanasono interview; Charles Matsumoto interview.

[45] *Indianapolis Star*, September 18, 1981; minutes of the November 18, 1981, Board Meeting, Secretary's Book, 1980- , n.d., Hoosier JACL papers.

[46] George Hanasono interview.

[47] Charles Matsumoto interview; Anne Moore, interview by author, December 12, 2004; Charlotte Brooks, "In the Twilight Zone between Black and White: Japanese American Resettlement and Community in Chicago, 1942-1945," *Journal of American History* 86 (Mar. 2000): 1655-87.

[48] Mia Tuan, *Forever Foreigner or Honorary Whites? The Asian Ethnic Experience Today* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 141-4; Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 92-3. Tuan points out that Asian Americans often hear comments such as "Where are you really from?" and "Gee, your English is so

good," indicating that other Americans continue to view them as foreigners even when they are native-born and from families with a long history in the United States.

[49] Japantown Business Association, "Mochitsuki," <http://www.japantownsanjose.org> (January 8, 2005); George Umemura interview; Charles Matsumoto interview; George Hanasono interview.

[50] Charles Matsumoto interview.

CHAPTER FOUR

JAPANESE IN AMERICA: TRANSPLANTED

In the archetypal immigrant story, people come to America to take jobs. Less common is the scenario wherein a group of people come to America to make jobs. During the 1980s, however, this situation did develop in Indiana with Japanese transplants, that is, manufacturing enterprises started through Japanese investment. The result was yet another chapter in the formation of Indiana's Japanese and Japanese American community.

By the time Indiana got into the race for Japanese investors, it was a little late. In 1976 Jim Rhodes, the governor of Ohio, and his development director, James Duerk, traveled to Japan to pitch Ohio as a good place for a Japanese automotive company to build a midwestern plant. They had heard that some manufacturer might be considering such a move, and they were right. By 1982 Honda had built first a motorcycle factory and then an automobile plant in Marysville, Ohio. Meanwhile, Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander made his first trip to Japan in 1979 and by 1983 had convinced Nissan to build a truck and car plant in Smyrna, Tennessee.[1]

As lieutenant governor under Governor Otis R. Bowen, Robert D. Orr observed these successes in neighboring states. In his capacity as head of the Indiana Department of Commerce, he was instrumental in setting up a Tokyo office of the Department of Commerce in 1980. Although he was busy running for governor and thus unable to go to Japan to open the office and meet with potential investors, Orr, along with his

lieutenant governor, John M. Mutz, soon began to take an active role in recruiting investors. He eventually made his first gubernatorial visits to Japan in 1983 and 1985.[2]

Charles Dodson, the first director of the Department of Commerce's Tokyo office, set to work on several projects. The initial and most influential achievement of the new program was persuading the Sony Corporation to locate its U.S. compact disc plant in Terre Haute, Indiana. Akio Morita, the legendary founder of the Sony Corporation, had paid a visit to Terre Haute, scouting potential sites for a new venture. Indiana's tax laws had not been conducive to foreign investment, but Morita made a strong request to Governor Orr to create legislation that would result in a more favorable tax environment. Another important factor in the decision was Sony's relationship with CBS. The CD facility was actually a joint venture between Sony and CBS, whose subsidiary, Columbia House, had long had a record and tape division in Terre Haute.[3]

The announcement ceremony in June of 1983 was held at the Terre Haute Country Club. Akio Morita as chairman of Sony, Norio Ohga, president of Sony of Japan, and Thomas H. Wyman, chairman of the board, president and CEO of CBS all attended, as did Governor Orr, Lieutenant Governor Mutz, and Terre Haute's mayor, P. Pete Chalos. Guests, watching the dignitaries' aircraft land on the golf course, remarked that they had never been to an event with so many helicopters.[4]

The Sony plant, formally known as the Digital Audio Disc Corporation (DADC), was the first manufacturer of compact discs in the United States. The $21 million facility began production with a capacity of 300,000 discs per month and a full

time staff of 100 employees. Now also the site of a Sony research and development facility, it remains the largest U.S. CD production plant at over 60 million CDs and DVDs a month.[5]

When Sony located its plant in Terre Haute, that "turned the light green" for Indiana, giving other Japanese corporations the go-ahead to scout the state for their own factories. They reasoned that if conditions were good enough for Sony, Indiana must be worth a look. At this point Charles Dodson had just left the Department of Commerce and had been replaced by Larry Ingraham, the second director of the Tokyo office, who was hired in March of 1983 as the negotiations with Sony were entering their final stages.[6]

Larry Ingraham, a native of Adrian, Michigan, began his career in the Far East when he enlisted in the Air Force upon graduating from high school in 1966 in the middle of the Vietnam War. Ingraham, whose specialty in the service was dental technician, was offered a choice of overseas assignment. He selected Taiwan, but after about a year there, he was transferred to Yokota Air Base near Tokyo. His enthusiasm for Japan really began, however, when he was sent on temporary duty to Hakata Base on the island of Kyushu, across the bay from the city of Fukuoka. There, in the southern part of the country, he "began to see the real Japan."[7]

Following his time in the service, Ingraham joined the staff of Heuristic Associates, an American-managed consulting firm that provided long-term intercultural training programs to some of the large Japanese trading companies, including Mitsubishi Corporation. Parts of the training program, for example, involved comparing

and contrasting correct business and social behavior in Japan and the United States. Ingraham's experience in preparing Japanese managers to encounter very different cultures, especially in America, not only gave him further insight into the Japanese world view, but would also stand him in good stead later. In 1983 he answered an ad in the *Japan Times* for a "state representative" in Tokyo and sent his resume to a post office box that, as it turned out, belonged to the Indiana Department of Commerce.[8]

In his new position, Ingraham was expected to follow up on the Sony triumph and recruit more Japanese companies to invest in Indiana. The ultimate goal was to land a large automotive manufacturing facility. By the time Ingraham came on board, Honda had already gone to Ohio and Nissan to Tennessee. Mazda and Mitsubishi, however, were looking for sites in the Midwest. Despite the efforts of the Indiana Department of Commerce and the Orr administration, Mazda went to Flat Rock, Michigan, and Mitsubishi to Normal, Illinois. Like Sony, these new companies were joint ventures with U.S. corporations, Mazda with Ford and Mitsubishi with Chrysler. In Larry Ingraham's opinion, Mazda was influenced by Ford and Mitsubishi by the incentive package that Illinois Governor Jim Thompson offered to Chrysler.[9]

In 1985 Indiana lost another big opportunity when Toyota decided to locate its Camry plant in Georgetown, Kentucky. Immediately after the announcement was made, Toyota contacted Larry Ingraham and requested a meeting so that their executives could thank the state for its assistance in the site search. Chagrined, Ingraham's colleagues wanted to refuse, but he convinced them to follow Japanese protocol and agree to the meeting. The Japanese team came and expressed its gratitude for the Hoosier group's

diligence and hospitality, then left satisfied with the relationship they had established. They also mentioned that the runner-up in the Camry plant search had been Princeton, Indiana. Eleven years later, when Toyota was developing a truck project, they returned to Princeton, bringing with them the original notes they had made on the site in 1985.[10]

The Department of Commerce did not have long to wait, however, before yet another Japanese transplant came calling. Fuji Heavy Industries, which manufactured Subarus, and Isuzu Motors formed a joint venture to build a U.S. plant. After another exhaustive search, the two companies announced in December of 1986 that they would locate their new factory in Lafayette, Indiana. Subaru-Izusu Automotive, Inc., known as SIA, would be a $500 million investment employing 1,700 local workers. At long last the state had secured a major auto assembly plant.[11]

The success was a timely one for the Orr administration. Indiana Democrats had begun openly criticizing the governor and lieutenant governor for wasting state funds on the pursuit of one Japanese automotive corporation after another, some said to the detriment of American-owned companies. Moreover, despite the rejoicing over the Subaru-Izusu plant, some Indiana lawmakers hesitated at the $55 million price tag. The incentive package in fact totaled $86 million, with the difference being made up by local and federal funding. Evan Bayh was to resume such attacks in his campaign against John Mutz for governor in 1988. Bayh's victory drew close attention in Japanese industrial circles, both in the Midwest and in Japan.[12]

The year 1986 might well be considered a high-water mark for Indiana's campaign to attract Japanese investment. From March 30 to April 2 of that year the

Indianapolis Star ran a four-part series, written and researched by Bill Koenig, about the competition between states for Japanese investment. The series measured Indiana's success in the competition, described techniques that had been used by neighboring states (as well as two Indiana cities, Greenwood and Shelbyville), explored the adjustments facing Hoosiers working for Japanese companies, and speculated about the state's future strategies.[13]

On April 3, 1986, the East Asian Studies Center at Indiana University sponsored a seminar for business leaders on the topic, "Shaping the Environment for Japanese Investment in Indiana." The center had been established in 1979, with funding from a Title VI National Resource Grant from the U.S. Office of Education. One of its missions was to link the expertise of the university's East Asian area specialists to the local and national needs of business, education, and government. Governor Orr gave a speech at the 1986 seminar, pointing out that 18 Japanese-owned businesses were operating in Indiana, representing $147 million in direct investment, and generating 2,500 jobs. Many more were in the planning stage or were then being built, including Enkei America (Columbus), Ryobi Die Casting (Shelbyville), and Alpine Electronics Manufacturing of America (Greenwood). Orr urged the seminar participants to show "Hoosier hospitality with an international twist" to prospective investors.[14]

Officials of these and other small towns in Indiana were already engaged in meeting this challenge. Mayor Jeanette Surina had invited executives from the Alps Group of Japan, makers of car stereo components, to her home for dinner and presented them with homemade videotapes of Greenwood's schools, churches, and libraries.

Mayor Noval Pickett, Jr., of Brazil, Indiana, toured Asia in May 1986, seeking potential investors. He was accompanied by State Representative William Roach, who had earlier been involved in Terre Haute's sister city program with Japan. A group from Tajimi paid its first visit to Brazil in 1987, by which time several Japanese firms had been to the town, scouting the Wabash Valley for industrial locations. Another very active mayor was Robert Stewart of Columbus, Indiana, who was successful in attracting Japanese corporations such as Diamet and Enkei America to his city.[15]

Indiana's very lack of success in landing a major automotive manufacturing facility gave it, ironically, an edge in attracting smaller Japanese companies. Lieutenant Governor Mutz hastily arranged a week-long trip to Japan in May 1986 when the state's office in Tokyo called and told him that several Japanese companies were on the verge of making a decision about where to locate their Midwest plants, small to medium facilities with no more than a few hundred employees. In September 1986 Governor Orr defended his record in an interview with Douglass T. Davidoff of the *Indianapolis News*. His administration, he said, had racked up 11 Japanese investments, many centered around the auto industry and electronics manufacture or distribution. He predicted many more to follow, pledging to "strike now while the iron is hot." Even if Japanese corporate leaders did not know much about Indiana, one state slogan rang true with them—the "Crossroads of America." Surrounded by major plants in Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, and Michigan, an automotive parts supplier in Indiana could transport his products on the interstate highway system to arrive just-in-time at

these factories. Moreover, the transplant company could aspire to a contract with the Big Three U.S. auto manufacturers.[16]

Orr had a point. In conjunction with Toyota's decision to locate in Kentucky, Aisin Seiki announced in May 1986 that it would build an auto body parts plant in Seymour, Indiana. Like other Japanese parts suppliers, Aisin had a relationship with one large manufacturer, Toyota, and came to the Midwest ostensibly to fill that company's needs. Building too close to Toyota, however, would have made it difficult for Aisin to open negotiations with other potential customers. Indiana was the solution—not too close to Toyota, yet close enough. The trend was so striking that it prompted one central Indiana mayor to describe his area of the state as the new "Silicon Valley of auto parts." The state of Indiana helped this development along by offering incentives packages to the transplant companies. Alpine Electronics, for example, received $550,000 in grants and loans from the state for training, infrastructure, and other costs.[17]

In 1982 Indiana had nine Japanese companies operating in the state. A survey taken in October 1990 by the Japanese consulate in Chicago showed that there were 91 Japanese facilities located in Indiana, 73 of them factories and the rest sales, construction, transportation, warehousing, and service offices. These companies employed 11,876 people, including 540 from Japan.[18]

During the 1970s there had been little very growth in the Japanese population of Indiana. Emigration of Japanese from Japan slacked off, and migration of Japanese Americans into the state was minimal. (The state's Chinese population, in contrast, nearly doubled during that decade, following the Immigration Act of 1965.) In the

1980s, however, while the explosion of Japanese corporate investment was going on, the Japanese population again increased; this time the sex ratio of incoming Japanese favored males over females by 1,349 to 1,005. (See Table 6 in Chapter 2.)

What kind of community was formed by the Japanese managers and engineers, as well as their wives and children, in the new environment of Indiana? It was influenced, first of all, by the nature of the companies with which these people were affiliated. For the historical reasons outlined above, these companies were small and scattered around the state. Each company had a president or CEO, a vice president, and a few middle managers, in addition to a small staff of technical experts.[19]

Because many of the Japanese nationals or expatriates, modern-day "sojourners" in America, brought families with them, one problem was paramount. Given the extreme pressure to succeed in school in Japan, particularly in the lower grade levels which are stepping stones to the best upper level schools, the families were concerned about their children's education during their stay in Indiana. At the instigation of Lieutenant Governor Mutz, the Indiana Department of Public Instruction joined with the Indiana Department of Commerce and the School of Liberal Arts and Weekend College at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis to fill this gap by establishing a Saturday Japanese Language School on the IUPUI campus. Although they attended local schools during weekdays, the children needed the Saturday classes to learn the Japanese writing system, get extra instruction in math, and receive training in Japanese manners and culture.[20]

The school, which opened November 7, 1981, was thus set up and acted as a drawing card very early in the Orr administration's campaign to gain Japanese investment. The state awarded the school a $2,000 startup grant; additional funding came from tuition. The first principal and president of the school board was Isao Hashimoto, service manager for Alpine Electronics of America, but a key leader at the new school was Akiko Hayashi, the wife of a retired professor at Ball State University. She not only taught classes but also organized parents and others in the Japanese community to assist with school activities. While the children studied in their classroom on Saturdays, their mothers took classes in English. The Saturday school eventually found a new home at Orchard Country Day School, where it served as an important point of contact and networking for Japanese families in Indiana.[21]

Educating Hoosiers about Japan became equally important as the high profile Japanese transplants began to make an impact on the state. By 1984 the Indianapolis Public Schools had set up magnet programs at Attucks and Shortridge Junior High Schools to teach Japanese, along with Chinese, Arabic, and Russian. In 1987 Indiana University acquired funding from the U.S. Japan Foundation to start a Midwest Program for Teaching About Japan, jointly sponsored by the university's Social Studies Development Center and the East Asian Studies Center. Teachers in Shelbyville were among those who enrolled in the program to prepare for teaching Japanese students in their classrooms. Earlham College also contributed to the effort by offering a program that included two weeks of intensive training in Japanese language and culture, followed by a three-week study tour of Japan. Earlham helped 15 Indiana school

districts to establish Japanese studies programs and begin offering Japanese language classes. These districts included Warren Township in Indianapolis, Center Grove in Greenwood, Evansville-Vanderburgh Schools, Mount Pleasant Township in Yorktown (near Muncie), and Rushville.[22]

While the educational sector in Indiana focused on new instructional programs for Japanese and Hoosier students and teachers, the business sector was trying to find ways to increase understanding of the culture and society of the newly arriving Japanese population. An informal steering committee comprised of American and Japanese corporate executives and Japan scholars began meeting at the Hudson Institute, hosted by Mitchell Daniels, Jr., to brainstorm about forming an organization that would serve as a bridge between Indiana and Japan. Among the academic experts were Jackson Bailey of Earlham College, an internationally recognized authority on Japan, and George Wilson, the director of the East Asian Studies Center at Indiana University (Bloomington). A prominent Japanese executive who participated in this effort was George Yoshida, the first president of Alpine Electronics.[23]

On September 18, 1987, Mark D. Langer, managing director of the insurance firm Marsh and McLennon, sent a letter to both Governor Orr and Lieutenant Governor Mutz outlining plans for the formation of a society to improve relations between the people of Indiana and Japan. The mission statement for the proposed organization said that it would focus on upgrading knowledge of Japanese society, culture, business, and public affairs among the citizens of Indiana; promote cultural exchanges; expand business relations; offer cultural, academic and business resources; and encourage better

knowledge of crucial issues and problems in U.S.-Japan relations. The founders of the society stressed that no Japanese corporations would be approached before a solid base of Indiana corporate support was first secured. The governor received a memo from his executive assistant, Donna Heimansohn, dated February 16, 1988, updating him on the progress of the society's organizers. They had been recruiting law firms, banks, and corporations (such as Lilly, Cummins, and Arvin) and were prepared to assist with the upcoming 1989 U.S.-Japan Midwest Association meeting in Indianapolis. At the top of this memo, Orr wrote "Good!"[24]

The board of directors of the Japan-U.S. Society of Indiana, Inc., held its initial meeting on August 23, 1988, by which time Mitchell Daniels, Sr., was serving as executive director in a part-time position, with Theresa Kulczak as executive assistant in a full-time position. Daniels had recently retired from Dow Agroscience as head of government relations, and he had made a number of trips to Japan representing Dow and so had some experience with Japanese business. He also had extensive contacts in the local Indiana business community and helped to establish the new society's credentials and reputation among business leaders.[25]

Theresa Kulczak was hired to serve as the "Japan hand," to communicate with the Japanese community. A native Hoosier and graduate of Purdue University, she had recently returned from six years working in Japan and spoke Japanese. Kulczak originally went to rural Niigata Prefecture as a teacher of English in a program sponsored by the Roman Catholic church. After the first three years, however, she moved to the city of Osaka, where she was employed by Converse, the athletic shoe

company, and later Asia 21, an ad agency, one of whose largest clients was Sanyo Electric.[26]

The new organization's board of directors was established with an approximately equal number of American and Japanese executives. The first Japanese managers or Japanese company presidents who came to Indiana were often those company executives most experienced in working internationally, particularly in America. In many cases they were men in their fifties or early sixties who spoke English reasonably well. These pioneers knew that they were responsible for how a new Japanese company would be received in its local Indiana community, so they were sensitive to community relations and, as Theresa Kulczak puts it, to "presenting the best face of Japan in Indiana."[27]

Mark Langer had apparently gotten a bit ahead of himself in using the name "Japan-America Society of Indiana" in his letter to the governor since it turned out that another entity owned the rights to the name. The board believed, however, that they could secure the rights to take over this organization's name and that "original members of its board (presently members of the Japanese American Citizens League) may be in a position to help." The board wanted the organization to be called the "Japan-America Society" in order to network with other such organizations around the nation through the Associated Japan-America Societies of the United States, formed on August 1, 1979, to provide a cooperative framework among Japan-America Societies. By the time the initial board meeting was held, the new society had received $30,000 in start-up contributions, following a reception for potential corporate donors in June 1988, and its

three-year budget projection looked promising. The letter of invitation to the reception had been sent to 200 Indiana companies and one-third of the Japanese-owned corporations in Indiana, over the signature of Steven Beering, the president of Purdue University. To this day the Japan-America Society of Indiana is one of very few members of the Nationalities Council of Indiana—and certainly the only Asia-related group—to have an office and a professional staff.[28]

The Japan-America Society of Indiana, as its founders envisioned, was to become an important point of contact for Japanese and Indiana executives and for the business community in general. It also functioned as a hub for the families of these businessmen, especially their wives. A typical assignment in America for a Japanese manager or engineer in the automotive industry was three to five years. Families therefore often accompanied the husband and father. One problem they did not have to cope with in the United States was lack of funds. Executives and professionals, they were able to purchase homes in Carmel, Fishers, or the more affluent sections of Greenwood, all choice locations in the Indianapolis metropolitan area. They did, however, face language barriers, transportation difficulties, and culture shock, not unlike the Japanese war brides of earlier decades.[29]

The Japan-America Society developed into a "gathering point," as Theresa Kulczak calls it, for the wives of its Japanese members. The JASI brought in speakers to talk with the women about, for example, the education system or health issues in Indiana. There were many challenges in the latter area because of the state's lack of Japanese-speaking health care providers, including psychologists and counselors. The

volunteer activities of the Japan-America Society provided a way for the women to meet and work on projects together. They served as presenters in school programs, trying on kimono, writing students' names in calligraphy, or just introducing the culture of Japan by demonstrating the tea ceremony together. Not only did the women make friends but they also contributed to Indiana by sharing their culture, which they found was often appreciated by people who live in Indiana. It was not unusual for the wives to continue their friendships with each other even after returning to Japan. Theresa Kulczak believes that the Japan-America Society did indeed help to develop a community and friendships among the Japanese in Indiana through these programs.[30]

The opportunity to meet wives from other Japanese companies was important for another reason. Like the war brides of earlier decades, these women had left their former support system of family and friends behind in Japan. In their native country, however, they would not have chosen friends from among the wives of their husbands' colleagues, nor did they wish to do so in America. Given the small size of the Japanese transplants, there might only be a few wives per company, and their social positions would typically be mismatched. An engineer's wife would not normally socialize with a president's wife. They were incompatible with respect to age group, as well. A study conducted in 1992-3 by a graduate student in Ball State University's department of anthropology identified many interpersonal issues between expatriate wives living in the same town, largely as a result of disruption in Japanese social norms caused by the American setting. The study also showed that the Saturday schools were a venue to

meet fellow parents; since students were brought in by bus from miles away, these were often Japanese women from other towns.[31]

Throughout the process of establishing new companies with Japanese managers, employees, and families, both state government officials and the Japanese themselves were cognizant of the issues that might arise. In a letter thanking Governor Orr for his "Hoosier hospitality," Heihachiro Ishii, president of Fujitsu Ten, a company that had opened a plant in Rushville in September 1986, wrote: "While I am aware that we are different from native residents in our cultural background, we share your values of democracy. . . . We will be making every effort to become good citizens of Indiana."[32]

The expatriates were stepping carefully into their new environment, and there was in fact reason for concern. Memories of World War II had by no means faded away. In a speech to the Japanese Chamber of Commerce of New York and the Global Economic Institute on October 18, 1988, Governor Orr expressed his thoughts on the issue. He had, he said, served in the Pacific during World War II, taking part in four amphibious landings. He continued:

> When I sit down across the table from a Japanese businessman or government official who is about my age, I wonder sometimes if that person was across the island from me 45 years ago. I often wonder if he is speculating likewise about me.
>
> But that was then. I've put it behind me. If I can change my way of thinking, so can anyone else.
>
> It is absolutely essential that those in public life help heal whatever wounds remain from those days nearly two generations ago. It is essential that we provide leadership in bridging the gap between our peoples.

The Japanese presence in American communities, Orr went on to say, had been well established "in small towns, in rural areas, in our cities." In Indiana, he concluded, "The Japanese are actively sought and welcomed into every sort of community activity, from the Kiwanis and Rotary to the local golf club."[33]

Orr had good cause for making these comments, addressing the lingering hatred and racism fostered by the experience of World War II and clearly aimed at business and community leaders. From time to time conflicts had arisen between the new Japanese population and people in Indiana cities and towns. Four or five companies received bomb threats, and there were incidents involving veterans and veterans' groups. On August 10, 1986, the town of Seymour was preparing for its 41st annual V-J Day Parade, marking the surrender of Japan in August 1945. Seymour, the only town in Indiana that still held such an event, had Aisin U.S.A., a $15 million auto components manufacturing plant, slated to begin construction in September, and it was even then trying to lure another Japanese investor. Members of the Chamber of Commerce and city council had expressed concern about Japanese reaction to the parade, but the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion, the parade's organizers, declared that the name had been upheld in discussions by local, district, state, and national veterans groups. The name was kept, and nine years later, on August 13, 1995, Seymour proudly held its 50th annual V-J Day Parade.[34]

A similar crisis erupted in Lafayette in 1990. The Subaru-Isuzu Automotive plant had finished construction and opened in 1989 with a small group of about 50 Japanese managers and engineers brought in for the start-up process . "Now it's

Indiana's turn to experience East-West culture shock," wrote Bill Koenig in the *Indianapolis Star*. Even though 1,754 people of Asian descent already resided in Tippecanoe County, mainly due to the presence of Purdue University, the possibility that the new plant would eventually require as many as 200 Japanese employees raised immediate concern about possible culture clashes. The Tippecanoe County Ministerial Association was worried enough to organize a seminar, held at Purdue in May 1988, which brought 60 area religious leaders together to discuss ways to ease tensions and help the community deal with the coming changes.[35]

In April 1990 Mayor James F. Riehle convinced the city council to rename a street in Columbian Park "Ota City Drive" after Lafayette's sister city in Japan. Veterans' groups objected to the choice of the street, which passed by a memorial to Tippecanoe County's servicemen. The following month they boycotted the Memorial Day parade and organized a demonstration at the memorial service in the park. Not all of the protestors were World War II-era veterans, as Dan Carpenter, who wrote a piece entitled "The wars of ignorance aren't over here" for the *Star*, found. "I don't trust slant eyes," one Vietnam veteran told him. "They did the right thing with them in World War II; they locked them up in concentration camps." Riehle, a Navy veteran of the Korean War, fired back: "When I look at this flag, I see freedom and justice and liberty. I see hope, strength and understanding, brotherhood and compassion. And I see peace. What I don't see is hate and vengeance, prejudice and ignorance."[36]

Both the Seymour and Lafayette incidents involved a reaction to real or potential changes in a Hoosier community's traditions, and both became cause célèbres over

what some considered to be slights to American veterans. What may have been overlooked, however, was the fact that the Japanese had not requested the changes, which were suggested by well-meaning civic leaders. As reported by the *Star*, Jana Madden of the Indiana Department of Commerce advised the folks in Seymour, "We say don't change anything already in place. . . . The Japanese want to blend in, not change the area." Mayor William Bailey later said about the Japanese executives, "They were sensitive to it—but they let it be known in a very diplomatic way that they didn't want the fabric of life in Seymour to change in any way."[37]

In addition to the Japan-America Society of Indiana, the Japanese American Citizens League (Hoosier Chapter), and the two Minyo groups, one other organization was created to serve Japanese in Indiana—the little-known Indiana-Japan Chamber, usually referred to as the IJC. The IJC was formed at the behest of the Japanese consulate in Chicago. As Emperor Hirohito's health declined toward the end of 1988, the consulate realized that it had no means of communicating efficiently with Japanese companies in the event of an emergency. The IJC was organized in 1989, after the consulate sponsored an October meeting that highlighted community relations problems faced by Japanese companies in midwestern cities and towns. Networking and discussing common problems were thus two items on the agenda when the IJC held its first meeting in January 1990.

The IJC continues to hold an annual business meeting in January, in conjunction with a dinner and evening entertainment. The board of directors, comprised of about 12 company managers, meets every other month at the offices of the Japan-America

Society. In the fall, the organization helps to facilitate a "portable visa service," with a staff member of the consulate in Chicago coming to Indianapolis to process visas for the Japanese families in town. The IJC does not sponsor any other events, but it works behind the scenes to assist with the Japanese Saturday school and projects of the Japan-America Society, such as the writing and production of a handbook for Japanese expatriate families, the *Indiana Seikatsu Gaidobukku* ("Indiana Daily Living Guidebook"). This volume, written in Japanese and published in 1999, contains information on how to live in Indiana, where to find medical resources, how the education system is different, how to buy a home, what personal security might mean in the United States, where the best restaurants are, and so on.[38]

In contrast to the Japan-America Society, the Indiana-Japan Chamber has very few non-Japanese members. Theresa Kulczak serves on its board, and Ingraham & Associates, Larry Ingraham's company, is a corporate member. Larry Ingraham is now a consultant, continuing to work with Japanese in Indiana, and frequently being called upon to help his clients with difficulties in an unfamiliar environment. Although his services are in demand for purely business purposes, such as exploring and establishing new joint ventures and merger/acquisitions, or providing introductions and liaison with U.S. law, banking, accounting, insurance, and construction firms, he is also often asked to help deal with family problems. More than one Japanese expatriate family has solicited his assistance when their children have had difficulty with the school system in Carmel, for example.[39]

The community created by the phenomenon of Japanese transplants in Indiana can best be described as a statewide network. It is an odd way to think about "community," yet its formation grew naturally out of the state's economic history in the decade of the 1980s. Pressured by recession as the Rust Belt faced the decline of its traditional manufacturing base, state and local government leaders actively sought to bring the then-prosperous Japanese and their money into Indiana. The Japanese corporations, in turn, were under pressure as a result of the trade imbalance and needed to establish plants, particularly automotive plants, in the United States. Indiana was not chosen by the earliest manufacturers to build major automotive facilities. Yet its geographical location, encircled by these plants, helped the state to attract a large number of widely scattered and specialized Japanese auto parts suppliers, each plant with a few executives and technicians and their families from Japan. In the nineteenth century these people would have remained isolated from each other, but with late twentieth-century transportation and communications available, they could get together on occasion and remain in contact. Organizations soon developed to serve this community's needs.

By the end of the 1980s, the great boom in Japanese investment was coming to an end. "Investments of Japanese down to trickle in Indiana," an *Indianapolis Star* headline lamented in April 1991. Some fingers pointed at Indiana's new governor, Evan Bayh, who had caused consternation in Japan with his campaign promises to cut back on foreign investment. Less than a month after the election in 1988, however, Bayh paid a visit to Subaru-Isuzu Automotive executives in Lafayette, an occasion closely

scrutinized by the Japanese press. In February 1989 Lieutenant Governor Frank O'Bannon was dispatched to Japan on what he denied was a "fence-mending mission." Whatever the effects of the new administration, and certainly the downturn in the Japanese economy was another major factor, the growth in Indiana's Japanese population once again flattened out, with a net increase of only 350 gained throughout the 1990s, as compared with 2,354 during the 1980s.[40]

Within the fifty-year span between the beginning of World War II and beginning of the 1990s, Indiana's Japanese Americans had, nonetheless, succeeded in forming a viable community. With a population approaching 5,000 people and well-established organizations serving different segments of the constituency, Japanese and Japanese American Hoosiers had gone from virtually nothing to a recognized ethnic group within the new diversity of the state. As has been suggested, this was not a solitary journey; the Chinese and other Asian groups in fact achieved an even greater growth rate than the Japanese. When the Indiana Historical Society began work on *Peopling Indiana* in the early 1990s, it found a surprisingly large number of ethnic groups in the state. Multicultural Indiana had arrived.

[1] David Gelsanliter, *Jump Start: Japan Comes to the Heartland* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1990), 7, 17; *Indianapolis Star*, March 31, 1986.

[2] *Indianapolis Star*, March 30, 1986.

[3] Theresa Kulczak, interview by author, September 3, 2004; Larry Ingraham, interview by author, January 27, 2005

[4] *Terre Haute Tribune-Star*, June 15, 1983; Larry Ingraham interview.

[5] Sony DADC, "Terre Haute, Indiana" <http://www.sonydadc.com/americas/about.world.terrehaute.go> (January 23, 2005).

[6] Larry Ingraham interview.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] *Indianapolis Star*, December 6, 1988

[12] *Lafayette Journal and Courier*, December 3, 1986; Larry Ingraham interview. Government funding for phase one of the SIA project included $37 million for improvements to roads and sewer systems; $29 million for job training of plant workers; $19 million of the purchase of the land; and $1 million to help Japanese families associated with the plant adjust to life in the United States. An additional $25 million for job training was promised for the second phase.

[13] *Indianapolis Star*, March 30-April 2, 1986.

[14] Wilson, George M., <gmw@indiana.edu> "Re: Question re: EASC," April 24, 2002, personal email (April 28, 2002); Papers of Governor Robert Orr, Folder 16, Box 127, Indiana State Archives; *Indianapolis News*, January 29, 1986; *Indianapolis Star*, March 31, 1986.

[15] *Indianapolis Star*, March 31, 1986; *Brazil Times*, August 5, 1987.

[16] *Indianapolis Star*, May 3, 1986; *Indianapolis News*, September 16, 1986; Larry Ingraham interview.

[17] *Indianapolis News*, May 16, 1986, June 9, 1987, January 29, 1986.

[18] *Indianapolis News*, July 19, 1982, April 16, 1991. Larry Ingraham estimates that in 2005 there are 220 Japanese companies in Indiana, employing 45,000 people.

[19] Larry Ingraham interview; Theresa Kulczak interview.

[20] *Indianapolis News*, December 15, 1981.

[21] *Indianapolis News*, December 15, 1981, December 13, 1982, April 16, 1991; Theresa Kulczak interview; Larry Ingraham interview.

[22] *Indianapolis News*, November 26, 1984; *Indianapolis Star*, February 2, 1987; *Indianapolis News*, June 27, 1989.

[23] Theresa Kulczak interview.

[24] Papers of Governor Robert Orr, Folder 54, Box 87, Indiana State Archives. Theresa Kulczak noted that the first office of the Japan-America Society of Indiana was donated space at Marsh and McLennon. Marsh and McLennon also provided office space for Subaru-Isuzu's start-up Indiana office, which was staffed by Larry Ingraham

as project coordinator and located in Indianapolis before it was eventually moved to Lafayette (Larry Ingraham interview).

[25] Theresa Kulczak interview.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid

[28] "Japan Correspondence, 1986-89," Papers of the Department of Commerce, Overseas Office, Folder 6, Box 2, Indiana State Archives; Theresa Kulczak interview. My research has turned up very little information about the previous "Japan-America Society," but it appears to have been cultural in purpose. Its primary organizer was the Rev. Masaichi Katayama, also an early board member of the Hoosier JACL.

[29] Theresa Kulczak interview.

[30] Ibid

[31] Theresa Kulczak interview; Hisato Kawata, "Culture Change of Japanese Expatriates in the Mid-Western U.S.: Dialectical Biculturalism" (M.A. thesis, Ball State University, 1994), 28, 90-1.

[32] Papers of Governor Robert Orr, Folder 70, Box 87, Indiana State Archives.

[33] Speech to the Japanese Chamber of Commerce of New York, pp. 11-13. Papers of Governor Robert Orr, Folder 34, Box 57a, Indiana State Archives.

[34] *Indianapolis Star*, August 10, 1986; *Seymour Tribune*, August 14, 1995.

[35] *Indianapolis Star*, May 29, 1990, April 28, 1988.

[36] *Indianapolis Star*, July 17, 1990, May 29, 1990.

[37] *Indianapolis Star*, August 10, 1986; *Indianapolis News*, June 16, 1987.

[38] *Indianapolis News*, January 20, 1990; Theresa Kulczak interview; Larry Ingraham interview. Kulczak and Ingraham are both fluent in Japanese; since the IJC has an almost entirely Japanese membership, its proceedings can be held in that language.

[39] Larry Ingraham interview; Theresa Kulczak interview.

[40] *Indianapolis Star*, February 7, 1989; U.S. Census Bureau, "Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000," June 20, 2001 <http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=04000US18&-qr_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U_DP1&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U> (April 10, 2005).

CONCLUSION

In assessing the place of this thesis in the history field, it is helpful to reflect on the title of Richard Alba and Victor Nee's book, *Rethinking the American Mainstream* (2003). What is going on in scholarship today constitutes a major rethinking of not one but several aspects of the American narrative in general and Japanese American history in particular, as exemplified by the following areas of historical research:

- Rethinking the impact of World War II on the Japanese American population

World War II was a watershed in Japanese American history, in more ways than we previously realized. As suggested in Chapter 1, past scholarship has focused primarily on the political aspects of the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II and particularly on causes of the evacuation, conditions in the internment camps, and the record of Japanese Americans in the U.S. armed forces. Certainly, nothing in this study detracts from the centrality of that research. Now, however, scholars are beginning to look at other facets of World War II and the Japanese American experience, especially protests against the internment, the relocation (or resettlement) program, and the postwar years.

This thesis contributes to that effort by, first, focusing on one particular Protestant denomination's stand against internment and the actions it took as a result; secondly, by adding to the growing collection of studies on cities and citizen committees that participated in the relocation program; and, thirdly, by describing the experience of one group of Japanese women who formed a community of their own after coming to America as war brides. What this work shows, in other words, is that

World War II, as a conflict between Japan and the United States, was significant not only in terms of military history or diplomatic history but also in the kind of consequences that manifest themselves as patterns in social history.

- Applying geography as a category of analysis by examining the Midwest as a venue for Japanese American history

In 1998, Stephen H. Sumida, then an associate professor in the Asian/Pacific American Studies Program and the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Michigan, wrote an essay that was published in the *Journal of Asian American Studies*. It was entitled, "East of California : Points of Origin in Asian American Studies." Sumida argued that Asian America has a long and widespread history in what is now the United States, and he suggested that if points of origin for this "east of California" history were recognized in the field, the result might be a shift in the questions raised in Asian American studies, that is to say, a rethinking of the field itself.[1]

In this thesis, the key question asked several times over involves how the flow of Japanese Americans and Japanese to Indiana and other states in the Midwest was affected by historical forces and events. Although World War II was the most important of these events, the chapter on Japanese transplants in the 1980s shows that the process continued and changed over time as relations between the United States and Japan developed in the direction of a new global economic system. As a corollary, the study traces the evolution of community for a small, racially differentiated ethnic group in a midwestern setting and explains how the composition of that community developed as

an outgrowth of midwestern history. There is nothing random about the selection of people who came to Indiana; each of the subgroups described in this paper has its own unique story, but for which the members of that subgroup would undoubtedly not be here.

- Updating the classic nineteenth-century model of ethnicity and immigration in America

Diaspora and transnationalism studies have given us a new way to look at the older topics of ethnicity and immigration in American history. Along with this change in our way of thinking about our nation, however, has come the realization that another half-century of history and more has been added to the textbooks since the end of World War II. The older model of an immigrant community, as captured, for example, in John Bodnar's book, *The Transplanted*, was based on an East Coast, urban, Eurocentric, and industrial economy paradigm.[2]

Postwar ethnic history, on the other hand, has taken place in a nation increasingly looking toward the West Coast and the Sunbelt in a suburbanized, multiracial environment within an emerging technological and global economy. Throughout this thesis, I have drawn out the ways that the ethnic community of Japanese Americans in Indiana functions, views itself, maintains its own traditions and organizations, and interacts with the mainstream. The community described here is one whose frame of reference is America in the twentieth century, with an acculturated lifestyle shifting along with the rest of the nation from urban to suburban and connected to co-ethnic communities by late twentieth-century communications and transportation.

- Integrating Asian American history with traditional Hoosier history

All diasporan communities have a relationship with, and therefore some interaction with, their hostland and its other inhabitants. As suggested in the introduction, Indiana has often thought of itself as insulated from the effects of immigration and indeed from the most radical forms of social and demographic change.

This thesis, however, disputes the notion that states in the nation's deep interior have been untouched by Asian Americans. In fact, the lives of Japanese Americans in Indiana have been closely intertwined with the larger community's major institutions, which, in many cases, played a role in bringing them to Indiana. Both the documentary and oral sources led me to these institutions simply because they were mentioned again and again. Thus, the Disciples of Christ and its place in the network of religious entities in Indianapolis, Fort Benjamin Harrison, a national military installation which is also an important Hoosier establishment, Eli Lilly and Company as an employer and magnet for scientific talent, and the Indiana Department of Commerce as a state government agency all played significant roles in the history of Japanese Americans in Indiana. The same could be said of several individuals; one striking example would be Cleo Blackburn, an important figure in the city's African American history. In a curious way, then, a sideline of this study is to observe how things get done in the Hoosier State, how the movers and shakers and key players often bend and shape the destinies of Asian Americans as well as everyone else.

Indiana in the 1940s—or in the '50s, '60s, '70s, and '80s—was not a wilderness. Yet to the Japanese and Japanese Americans who ventured into the state, it was

uncharted territory, a little-known place where few Asian Americans had gone before. Nonetheless, those who came had reason to believe that the state held potential and promise for themselves and their families. This thesis explains who they were, why they thought a good life could be found in Indiana, and how they set about building a community that included, in some small way, the world they had left behind.

[1] Stephen H. Sumida, "East of California: Points of Origin in Asian American Studies," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 1 (1998): 83-4, 94. Sumida, whose thinking was influenced both by his conversations with students at the University of Florida regarding the South as a venue for Asian American studies and by his tenure at the University of Michigan, had been giving this paper as a talk before its publication. He is currently professor and chair of the Department of American Ethnic Studies at the University of Washington.

[2] John E. Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

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PUBLICATIONS:

"Being Other: An Asian American Perspective," *Nebraska Humanities*, Vol. IV, No. 3, Lincoln, NE: Nebraska Humanities Council, Fall 1994.

Teaching the Role of Religion in American History: Proceedings of the Symposium (editor), Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Humanities Council, 1994.

PROFESSIONAL & COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES:

Member, African American Landmarks Committee, Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana

Member, Indiana Council for History Education

Member, Indiana Heritage and Culture Council (governor's appointee)

Co-Chair, Education Committee, Indiana Lincoln Bicentennial Task Force and Lincoln States Bicentennial Task Force

Member, Indiana State Library Advisory Council

Member/Former Board Member, Japanese American Citizens League

Member, Japan America Society of Indiana

Former Chair, Governor's Award for Excellence in the Teaching of History

Former Advisory Council Member, Center for Humanities, Broad Ripple High School

Former Member, Judging Team for History Day and Indiana Close Up

Former Board Member, Indiana Interreligious Commission on Human Equality